## 1AC

### Part 1 is the Poem

I hate racism so much

I hate the model minority myth

Why is the “Dark side” bad?

It’s worse than the logic of the Sith

I hate how I am treated as different

I hate how I am not “alike”

I hate how America alienated me

Ever since I was a little tyke

With the teachers expecting

I’m good at math

Saying I smell like curry

And should take a bath

Wherever I go

They call me brown

When I pass by

They look with a frown

I don’t understand

Why I can’t fit in

I don’t understand

Why I should, fit in

Am I “Asian”?

I don’t know

Am I “American”

Where should I go?

I am Shankar  
I know that for sure

But who am I fighting

This battle for

When I am in debate

Most do not see

That this is the space

Where words set people free

Others will remember my poetry

And cite it for days

Because unlike an illusory policy,

In the mind, it stays.

### Part 2 is the Story

We cannot talk about the resolution without first recognizing the historically racist underpinnings of the topic. This means that there cannot be a version of my affirmative that defends the resolution without first resolving the oppression that is sequestered within it. I defend a discussion of the topic, not the affirmation of the resolution.

#### The medical system is not culturally competent and discourages Asian Americans from engaging in the system. The system which I am forced to defend does not include Asian Americans within it, and silences them – Asian Americans do not speak out against the system, but go to family or herbal medicine instead.

Zhou ’14, [Annie, “Disparities in Healthcare: The Lack of Cultural Competency in Medical Care”, ECAASU's 2nd Annual High School Ambassadors Leadership Program, SK]

Annie’s experience is only one example of the problem of cultural competency in the medical community, a problem that becomes increasingly important as America grows more and more diverse. Annie’s doctor assumed that her medical issue was due to differences in her race, but **lack of cultural competency can also manifest in** the opposite: **doctors failing to diagnose minority patients correctly because they assume their symptoms are the same as whites.** AAPI’s are twice as likely to have severe diabetes, and part of this problem lies in the fact that most important studies on diabetes focus on Caucasian males. Asian Americans with or at risk of diabetes tend to fall into different BMI ranges than whites. There is also the common diagnosis for diabetes of weight gain – it just simply doesn’t show up in some Asians. Mongolian spots– a common phenomenon amongst Asian babies where the baby is born with bluish markings on the lower back/buttock area – can be mistaken for signs of abuse by white doctors. But on the other end of the spectrum, abuse in some darker-skinned Asian children can be missed, as bruises may show up differently beneath darker skin. Some **Asian children have been misdiagnosed with jaundice due to their color of their skin, and also the opposite** – **there are cases where doctors have insisted that infants with jaundice are perfectly fine because they believe Asian skin to naturally be like that**. **Cultural differences perceiving the medical community also discourages Asians to seek medical treatment**. Many **Asian Americans prefer to take their issues to family or traditional herbal medicine**. The rates of mental illness and depression are much higher amongst Asian Americans, due to both stigma surrounding going to therapy and cultural/linguistic barriers with non-Asian therapists. This suggests that a different approach may be needed. **Problems with cultural incompetency have led many Asian Americans to** be distrustful of white doctors, or even worse, **lose faith in the American medical system**, **which many feel don’t include them.** The lack of recognition for genetic, cultural, and environmental differences for Asian Americans highlights the need for cultural competency amongst the medical community. **In order to provide effective medical care, this problem needs to be addressed**.SK

#### Thus, I advocate for a reconceptualization of the medical system so that adolescents are afforded an autonomous voice in order to break down the silencing of Asian Americans due to the model minority myth.

Denying patient autonomy to make medical choices for Asian Americans is a way in which you silence their voice: you value the voice of the parent—who could be white if the child is adopted—or the physician over that of the actual Asian American subject.

#### Racism perpetuates because Asian American students and children are forced to be silent.

Osajima, [Osajima, Keith (director and prof of Race and Ethnic Studies at Redlands University). "Internalized Oppression and the Culture of Silence: Rethinking the Stereotype of the Quiet Asian-American Student." Race And Racism In the United States, 2003. 152-155. SK]

**A good student is quiet, obedient, [and] unquestioning,** prompt, and attentive.They do well on tests designed by the teacher. They can give the right answer. In return for this behavior, “good” students are rewardedwith good grades, praise from teachers, honor rolls,and col- lege entrance. A “bad student”, who is loud, rebellious, defies and questions authority, skips class or comes in late, and doesn’t do the home- work, is stigmatized and isolated from the rest. For many of us, **these messages are so strong that they become a** natural, **internalized indicator of our** self-**worth.** **We** come to **believe** that **our abilities and** our **intelligence are** best **measured by** our grades, or by the **opinions** and praise we receive from our teachers. This creates a tremendous pull to adhere to the image of a “good” student. At the same time those rewards **[which]** become a means to **control students,** for in the process **we lose sight** of the fact that we are smart enough to think and figure many things out ourselves, and we also lose sight **of** our **critical,** reflective **abilities that allow us to question the ways that schooling may be oppressive.** I think **for Asian students, the pull** to be “good” students **becomes even stronger** when we place that studentoppression **in** the context of the way Asians have responded to racial oppression in **this country**. **For** many **Asian-Americans, silence** and education **lies at the heart of how we have dealt with racial oppression**. As Colin Watanabe and Ben Tong argued in the early 1970’s, Asian-Americans often adopted a passive, quiet, con- forming behavior as a means to survive racial hostilities. It was deemed safer not to rock the boat than to call attention to oneself and risk oppression. Many of us learned these lessons from our parents as we were growing up, internalized them, and came to believe that we too might be in danger if we speak out, or call attention to ourselves. Thus, even when the situation may not be threatening, **the internalized oppression often makes us feel that we need to be quiet in order to be safe.**SK

#### Regardless of whether or not they are deemed mentally competent, allowing adolescent medical decision making is a recognition that they have a voice. That they can speak out against the norm.

Bryant ‘13, [Kristen Bryant Minors Rights in Medical Decision Making, Minors and Medicine, 2013. SK]

Maturity/Competence of Minors As children grow from infancy to young adulthood, parents and guardians gradually relinquish responsibility and decision making to them, while remaining as a safety net for them. This is true **for medical decision** **making** as well. It is clear that young children lack the experience, judgment, and cognitive ability to be self-governing in all matters. States and courts have, with some exceptions, never allowed children younger than 12 years to make medical decisions for themselves and exercise self-determination.1 For infants and young children, decisions regarding medical treatment have been in the hands of the parent or guardian. **Adolescents are caught in a limbo-like state** between the dependency of childhood and the autonomy of adulthood. Their cognitive ability and capacity to reason are similar to those of an adult.4 However, adolescents may lack the moral responsibility, judgment, and experience to understand the outcome of their actions and decisions. They may have more volatile emotions and may look only at short-term consequences. Thus, they remain in an ambiguous state regarding self-determination. The legal determination of "majority" has been defined by chronological age (18 years in all but 4 states), marital or parental status, and self-sufficiency, whereas the ethical determination of minors' decision-making capabilities has been much more complex.4 Determination of a minor's competence for medical decision making should include evidence that the minor has the ability to understand the purpose of treatments, risks, both long- and short-term consequences, benefits, and alternatives to treatments. In addition, evidence must be present to ensure that the minor is able to make an informed decision without coercion.4 Informed Consent to Treatment and Participation in Research At the core of these issues is informed consent, which has been viewed by the courts as a basic right.1 Informed consent and the right to refuse treatment are protected by the constitutional right to privacy. In some jurisdictions, the right to informed consent arises from the law of battery in that the patient has a right to be free from unconsented touching of their person. Informed consent presumes respect for patient autonomy and the provision of full and accurate information to a patient to enhance decision making. These mandates apply to both the acceptance and the refusal of treatment. Informed consent must include the following: 1. an understandable explanation of the condition, the recommended treatment, the risks and benefits of the proposed treatment, and any alternatives; 2. an assessment of the person's understanding of the information provided; 3. an assessment of the competence of the minor or surrogate to make medical decisions; and 4. assurance that the patient or surrogate has the ability to choose freely between alternatives without coercion.5 **Minors can and should participate in medical decision making** commensurate with their developmental level and ability. However, the concept of **informed consent has only limited application** in pediatric care. Only competent minors with legal empowerment have the ability to give true informed consent to medical treatment. In other situations, a parent or guardian acting as a surrogate provides informed "permission" for medical treatment with the assent of the child whenever possible.5 Pediatric healthcare providers may face problems with surrogate decision making. Although the law provides parents and guardians discretion in raising their children, their religious and social beliefs may interfere with the best interests of the child. When this occurs, healthcare providers must look to the state and the legal system for answers.5 **When a minor is deemed incompetent and unable to give informed consent, giving assent allows the adolescent's voice to be heard and promotes** the perception of **empowerment via participation in medical decision making.** The assent process should include the following: 1. a developmentally appropriate explanation of the medical condition and the treatment, 2. an assessment of the minor's understanding of the information and how his or her decision was made, and 3. an expression of the minor's willingness or unwillingness to allow treatment.5 Healthcare providers have a legal and ethical responsibility to protect the rights of minors by assuring that they are well informed, confidentiality is protected, and they participate in decision making. In research, however, the inability of minors to give full, informed consent to participation creates true ethical and legal dilemmas, which have been minimally addressed with parental/surrogate consent and child assent. The paucity of medical research involving children and adolescents has been blamed, by some, for the decline in adolescent health.6 This lack of research is partly caused by the difficulty in obtaining true informed consent and the legal and ethical concerns regarding adolescent consent. This is true even though adolescents who have been deemed mature for medical decision making may consent to research.6 **It is essential for minors to participate in medical decision making** for treatment and research to the best of their ability, **and they must understand that they can refuse without any recrimination**.7 They must also be well aware of what is being asked of them and what will be done to them. SK

#### [Poem Part 2]

I’m telling you now

A choice is a voice

A voice to say

I don’t wanna be treated this way

I don’t wanna listen

To your biased views

I’ll take back what’s mine

And I will choose

Why deny me my voice

Scared what I’ll say?

Save your story of “mental incompetence”

For another day

### Part 3 is the Myth

The myth of the model minority seeks to legitimize oppression against Asian Americans, creating a veil under which this specter of oppression can grow.

Thrupkaew, [Noy Thrupkaew, 3/25/2002,“The Myth of the Model Minority”, <http://prospect.org/article/myth-model-minority>. RHS//SK]

**The model-minority myth has persisted in large part because political conservatives are so attached to it.** "Asian Americans have become the darlings of the right," said Frank Wu, a law professor at Howard University and the author of Yellow: Race beyond Black and White. "**The model-minority myth and its depiction of Asian-American success tells a reassuring story** about our society working." The flip side is also appealing to the right. Because Asian Americans' success stems from their strong families and their dedication to education and hard work, conservatives say, then the poverty of Latinos and African Americans must be explained by their own "values": They are poor because of their nonmarrying, school-skipping, and generally lazy and irresponsible behavior, which government handouts only encourage. The model-minority myth's "racist love," as author Frank Chin terms it, took hold at a sensitive point in U.S. history: after the 1965 Watts riots and the **immigration reforms** of that year, which **selectively allowed large numbers of educated immigrants into the United States**. **Highly skilled South and East Asian nurses, doctors, and engineers from countries like India and China began pouring into the United States just as racial tensions were at a fever pitch**. Shortly thereafter, articles like "Success Story of One Minority in the U.S.," published by U.S. News & World Report in 1966, trumpeted: "At a time when it is being proposed that [while] hundreds of billions be spent to uplift Negroes and other minorities, the nation's 300,000 Chinese Americans are moving ahead on their own, with no help from anyone else." Newsweek in 1971 had Asian Americans "outwhiting the whites." And Fortune in 1986 dubbed them a "superminority." As Wu caricatures **[according to] the model-minority myth** in his book: **Asian Americans** vindicate the American Dream... . They **are living proof of the power of the free market and the absence of racial discrimination**. Their good fortune flows from individual self-reliance and community self-sufficiency, not civil-rights activism or government welfare benefits. A closer look at the data paints another picture, however. If Asian-American households earn more than whites, statistics suggest, it's not because their individual earnings are higher but because Asian Americans live in larger households, with more working adults. In fact, a recent University of Hawaii study found that "most Asian Americans are overeducated compared to whites for the incomes they earn" -- evidence that suggests not "family values" but market discrimination. What most dramatically skews the data, though, is the fact that about half the population of Asian (or, more precisely, Asian-Pacific Islander) Americans is made up of the highly educated immigrants who began arriving with their families in the 1960s. **The plight of refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam**, who make up less than 14 percent of Asian Americans, **gets lost** in the averaging. Yet these refugees, who started arriving in the United States after 1975, differ markedly from the professional-class Chinese and Indian immigrants who started coming 10 years earlier. The Southeast Asians were fleeing wartime persecution and had few resources. And those disadvantages have had devastating effects on their lives in the United States. The most recent census data available show that 47 percent of Cambodians, 66 percent of Hmong (an ethnic group that lived in the mountains of Laos), 67 percent of Laotians, and 34 percent of Vietnamese were impoverished in 1990 -- compared with 10 percent of all Americans and 14 percent of all Asian Americans. Significantly, poverty rates among Southeast Asian Americans were much higher than those of even the "nonmodel" minorities: 21 percent of African Americans and 23 percent of Latinos were poor. **Yet despite the clear inaccuracies created by lumping populations together, the federal government still groups Southeast Asian refugees under the overbroad category of "Asian" for research and funding purposes**. "We've labored under the shadow of this model myth for so long," said KaYing Yang, SEARAC's executive director. "There's so little research on us, or we're lumped in with all other Asians, so people don't know the specific needs and contributions of our communities."SK

Nevertheless, the model-minority myth is false, even for those who are characterized as the model minority. It constructs Asian Americans as the perpetual foreigner, honorary whites, and destroys the unique and diverse identity that exists between us, characterizing us as mere machines that can be utilized to perpetuate our own subjugation.

Junn, [Junn, Jane. "The Significance of Race and Class for Political Participation." conference" Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda", Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University. 2000. RHS//SK]

Nevertheless, and within the context of the developmental argument offered above, **the** contemporary racial **trope of** **model minority** for Asian Americans **is far from** uniformly **positive**. Indeed, the **construction of Asian Americans as a model minority works in tandem with another common characterization of Asians as perpetual foreigners** ~Ancheta 1998; Kim 1999; Lee 1999; Lowe 1996; Saito 1998; Tuan 1998; Ueda 1999!. Similarly, it is clear that the economic and educational advantages widely attributed to Asian Americans by the model-minority stereotype are not shared by all those grouped in the same racial category ~Kwong 1987!. The distribution of income and educational resources is bimodal within the diverse population of Asian Americans in the United States, reflecting important and often overlooked groups of immigrants and native-born Asian Americans who exist far away from the advantages of the status of an honorary White. Indeed, **the fact that racialized stereotypes categorize is itself an expression of their political power, with the readily identifiable phenotypic characteristics of many Asian Americans acting as visible markers of difference**. **Model minority** is clearly a more positive racialized trope than coolie, but it **is not without negative consequence**. Historians have documented the popular depiction of immigrant Chinese laborers in the late nineteenth century as coolies ~Chan 1991; Miller 1969; Mink 1986; Ngai 2004; Saxton 2003; Smith 1997; Tichenor 2002!. **Most striking** in drawing the comparison across time between the coolie and the model minority tropes **is the image of Asian Americans as machines**.8 In Civic Ideals, Smith writes about the debate over the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act: California Senator John Miller claimed that over “thousands of years,” the “dreary struggle for existence” had led to the “survival” of Chinese workmen who were in some ways “fittest” because they were “automatic engines of flesh and blood” ~Smith 1997, p. 360!. **Once a machine utilized for railroad pile driving, immigrant Asians are now cast as human calculators, programmed to spend every waking hour nose to the grindstone, whether in front of the computer screen or behind the cash register**. To be sure, there are positive aspects of the model minority trope for Asian Americans that are appar-ent both to those who use the stereotype as a compliment, and to those Asian Americans who adopt and internalize the identity. **But the stereotypes are at once distinct and dehumanizing**. This is complex territory, but the simple take away in drawing the line from coolie to model minority is that **Asian Americans remain racialized, distinctive, and threatening**. Canadian and European immigrants today come with similar skills and education levels as those of Asian immigrants, but commentators do not fret over their “unappeasable hunger for jobs” in the same way that Winnick described his fear of the “golden blunder” of an “errant immigration policy” ~Winnick 1990, p. 22!. Taken alone, the story of the development of racial tropes of Asian Americans over time might end with the keen observation of a selection bias structured by U.S. immigration policy. The data on LPRs by region of birth from 2005 show that green cards have been awarded disproportionately to immigrants from Asian nations, not only relative to their proportion of the resident foreign-born population, but also as a function of employment-based preferences. Asians are portrayed as high achieving and highly skilled professionals, fittingly described as the “model minority.” In contrast, immigrants to the United States from Latin America have been disadvantaged by federal immigration policy. Constructed as low-skilled workers and unlawful migrants, Latinos face a distinctive set of racialized tropes. Immigration policy creates different incentives for Latinos and Hispanics than for Asian Americans to adopt a racial and ethnic group consciousness, by systematically selecting the labor force population from these two parts of the world. The extent to which Latinos and Asian Americans express a sense of racial identity thus depends in part upon the policies and actions of the nation that emerge when these groups are compared to one another ~Wong 2006; Junn and Masuoka, forthcoming!. This analysis has attempted to highlight the importance of history, federal immigration policies, context, and the unique experiences and constructions of race for immigrants. **Identities are not constructed in a vacuum; instead, the normative claims attached to racial tropes create substantial room for people classified by race to be able either to** adopt **or to** opt out ~Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994; Phinney 2005!. Just as there is a different dynamic involved in showing oneself to be a Yankee fan in Boston as opposed to New York, the context is also distinctive for the fan of any team heading to the play-offs rather than sitting at the bottom of the league. Of course, racial categories have far more tangible consequences for immigrants than do sports championships for fans. Racial identity should and does differ for major racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Unique histories of migration, labor market demands, and class present particular circumstances and experiences for people classified by race. The state has the power to make race, and the state’s actions may be arbitrary and irrational. But **the construction of racial categories is** almost always driven by the demands of capital, and **shaped by the psychology of power, dominance, and ignorance.** While not omnipotent, the state is nevertheless among the most important factors in the creation and maintenance of racial categories and hierarchy. We must recognize the government’s role in the politics of identity and political mobilization in order to be able to take aim at particular national practices and federal institutions as we attempt to dismantle the mechanisms of structural inequality.SK

### Part 4 is the Method

**I affirm a process of Conscientization**. This is a process where each individual is able to “name their world” in relation to themselves and their surroundings at a given period of time. They become critically conscious of the nature of oppression and its impact on society. This is always the first step.

Osajima clarifies, [2007, Keith Osajima is a professor and Director of the Race and Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Redlands. REPLENISHING THE RANKS: Raising Critical Consciousness Among Asian Americans; JOURNAL OF ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES (JAAS), February, Volume 10, No. 1; p. 64. SK]

For Brian, **information about the history of Asian Americans** had **prompted critical reflections on two levels**. **First**, because he had never known about the history of Asian Americans, **the** class had given him new **information** that **had helped** him to **understand** his **family history**. **Second, it** had **led** him **to** **critical**ly **reflect[ion] upon** his **previous education**. He **[A subject] questioned why he hadn’t learned any of this before**? Why was his experience absent from U.S. history courses? **This process had led him to think more critically about the racism embedded in his educational experiences**. **[Another subject]** Margaret had experienced a similar reaction. She had **realized that her education had only taught** **her about European American history**, prompting her to ask, “how many students were out there who never would take this class. . . and would never really know more than one version of history?” Her **Asian American courses had provided the analytic tools and language needed to see the reason and logic of racism**, sexism, and heterosexism. **Conscientization** for these respondents **meant being able to “name their world.”** That is, **a meaningful education had helped them to recognize and understand the impact that societal conditions and forces of oppression have on their lives and the lives of others**. As Freire writes, **the process of conscientization, or education for critical consciousness, “involves a constant clarification of what remains hidden within us while we move about in the world,” and it provokes “recognition of the world, not as a ‘given’ world, but as a world dynamically ‘in the making.”**24 **Such recognition often inspires people to work against that oppression, thus beginning their active efforts to transform the world**.25 **Naming the world was an important step** toward actively changing it. SK

The 1AC in itself was a process of Conscientization for myself because I located the historical formation of the way oppression is sustained and educated others. Any type of educational space must be a space for praxis and for informing others about racism.

Osajima 2, [2007, Keith Osajima is a professor and Director of the Race and Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Redlands. REPLENISHING THE RANKS: Raising Critical Consciousness Among Asian Americans; JOURNAL OF ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES (JAAS), February, Volume 10, No. 1; p. 64. SK]

Given the profound change that conscientization had effected in the lives of respondents, it is not surprising that many of them wanted to be in positions where they could help to create for others the educational experiences that were so meaningful to them. They took leadership positions in student organizations; they helped to organize and put on educational programs; they worked in community organizations; they pursued graduate studies; and they took positions in student affairs to work closely with new cohorts of Asian American students. Pamela Kim, who wanted to become a professor of Asian American studies, best expresses their desire: One of the reasons why I want to be a professor of Asian American Studies is because I want to **help** these **kids who are going through the same things** that I did. I want to **help** **them figure things out, to help educate them about these issues** because I had no idea about them while I was growing up. I could see what these kids are all going through in college, and it helps to be where you can pop those bubbles that they have around themselves.37 **As they go about the task of trying to replenish the ranks by raising critical consciousness amongst new groups of Asians, a number of lessons learned from their collective experiences may provide helpful guides**. From the interviews, we can identify critical elements that contribute to conscientization. While these elements do not guarantee that conscientization will follow, incorporating them into one’s practice may enhance the possibility that efforts will be successful. **First, respondents described the importance of obtaining information and conceptual tools that helped them to cognitively understand how their lives and the lives of others are shaped by larger historical and social** **structural forces**. An Asian American Studies course on a college campus was the most common source of relevant information, but as we have seen exposure can take place in many venues. People can learn from reading on their own, from student groups, and from multimedia sources. **Second, breaking through isolation and interrupting the tendency to explain their life experiences solely in individual terms reflects a social dimension to conscientization**. Contact and conversation with other Asian Americans was often the most effective way to help respondents make connections between their lives, the experiences of others, and information on the Asian American experience. Connections to key mentors and peers provided a safe environment in which to think and question further. **Third, respondents described important affective aspects of conscientization. When respondents talked about important moments in their education or key social support that made a difference, invariably they referred to how they felt about these experiences**. **They were angered by the realization that their schooling had not taught them about racism or the Asian American experience**. They felt inspired by the experiences of other Asian Americans who struggled to overcome harsh conditions. They were excited to learn more. **Fourth, respondents’ commitment to Asian American issues was deepened when they transformed understanding into action**. **Involvement** in protests, organizing, programming, teaching, and research **gave respondents a chance to extend their knowledge and learn from efforts to make change**. Finally, the study indicates that **conscientization occurs when the discrete elements work in combination. No respondent described his or her conscientization in terms of a single element**. It was not a purely intellectual or cognitive experience in a classroom, absent of social or affective elements. Nor was it a purely social or affective experience without information and conceptual tools. Instead, respondents described multifaceted and interrelated experiences that reinforced each other, inspiring further thinking and commitment to action. **For activists seeking to raise the critical consciousness of Asian Americans, the study’s findings carry implications for practice.** For some, combining elements in a single venue, like an introductory course or a 76 • JAAS • 10:1 training program, will be the main focus. In these cases, the study suggests that the course or program should offer substantive content and concepts to lay the cognitive foundation needed for people to see themselves in relation to the world. It also should include social activities to break isolation and opportunities for people to share stories with each other in a non-judgmental, safe environment. On a broader level, **the study suggests that there is a value in and need to offer a range of experiences across campus and community to increase the likelihood that students will combine, on their own, elements that contribute to conscientization.** Pressure to have one person, course, or program that single-handedly transforms students’ lives subsides when we recognize that the interrelated process of conscientization benefits from contributions across diverse segments of the community. The importance of combining influences also casts new light on how different parts of the campus and community can work collaboratively to raise critical consciousness. **Breaking from binary constructions that often pit academic programs against student life activities, or divide academe from community, the study shows how conscientization arises when people are exposed to and combine lessons learned from a variety of sources**. This process implies that increased appreciation for the work done across campus and community, along with greater coordination of influences, is an important dimension of conscientization.SK

This is the starting point for other forms of reflection – although other methods may be important, this is the method which serves as the first step.

Osajima,[Keith Osajima, Pedagogical Considerations in Asian American Studies, *Journal of Asian American Studies* 1.3 (1998) 269-292. SK]

Asian American studies courses should, as a fundamental guiding principle, develop a critical consciousness that enables students to situate themselves within a broader understanding of the Asian experience in a globally interconnected, racialized, and capitalist United States. That **critical consciousness encompasses three interrelated dimensions**. **The first involves helping students to see how their "personal" and "individual-level" experiences are shaped by and intersect with larger historical, socioeconomic, cultural, and political forces**. Recognizing how their [End Page 278] tastes, desires, attitudes, language, and values are not "individual" but reflect the influence of powerful social forces enables students to "step" outside of themselves and analyze those experiences. **This process of conscientization** 33 **reveals how individual subjects are formed in relation to matrices of power along race,** national, class, and gender lines. For Ira Shor a critical consciousness allows people to make broad connections between individual experience and social issues, between single problems and the larger social system. This critically conscious individual connects personal and social domains when studying or acting on any problem or subject matter. . . . With critical consciousness, **students are better able to see any subject as a thing in itself whose parts influence each other, as something related to and conditioned by other dimensions in the curriculum and society, as something with a historical context, as something related to the students' personal context**. 34 **Second, Asian American studies classes should help students to become critically conscious of the multidimensional dynamics of oppression**. This entails examining not only what it is like to be oppressed, but to look closely at how intersections of oppression can simultaneously position people in oppressed and oppressor roles. 35 As our classrooms become more diverse, students' differing positions in relation to various forms of oppression can give rise to tension, conflict, and confusion. During a course, students may find themselves on various sides of issues, challenged to make sense of their fluid, seemingly contradictory positions. When the focus, for example, is on racism, Asian students may unite in their outrage and feel enmity toward white society. When the focus shifts to gender, Asian male students who felt united with Asian females around race, may suddenly find themselves the target of Asian women's outrage about sexism. Working-class whites and Asians may feel marginalized by the middle-class students and professor who ignore issues of class. South Asians, Koreans, and Vietnamese may feel silenced in a class focusing on the Chinese and Japanese American experience. Becoming critically conscious of the intersection and simultaneity of oppressor and oppressed positions can move students away from simplistic dichotomies that lock them into conflictual either/or constructs. [End Page 279] **It can help them to understand the ebb and flow of emotions that accompany shifting positions and varying course emphases.** **It strengthens the possibility for alliance-building** **for it helps students to see the interlocking dynamics of oppression** and challenges them to take responsibility for working against their oppressor roles. **Finally, Asian American studies courses should help students become critically conscious of the substantive content of those specific courses**. On the most basic level, **this means acknowledging the rapidly changing, complex terrain that is Asian America and using that as the starting point for examining how the array of social, political, economic, and cultural forces shape that experience and impact upon the lives of students**. For example, recent patterns of migration can be situated in relation to the restructuring of global capitalism that "permits the exploitation of Asian workers both in Asia and the deindustrialized U.S." and the "colonial and neocolonial role of the U.S. in the Asian states from which these new 'Asian American' communities immigrated." 36 The diversity of political perspectives within the Asian American populace can be examined in relation to patterns of migration (i.e. conservative views held by those who have fled communist countries) and the politically conservative post-civil rights terrain of American race relations. SK

#### Spoken word poetry is a form of Conscientization and a way in which we can break down oppressive structures – poetry engagement is key to anti-oppressive education.

Dill,

After sharing the poem with an audience, I felt like I understood more about the plight of the people who experienced the earthquake. Connecting with an audience about such an emotional plight a ffirmed my feelings and my personal connection to the disaster. Since then, I have written and performed numerous poems about race and oppression, each time learning more about my own experiences, deepening my understandings, and feeling a sense of libera tion. Somewhere along the line, I began spelling my name “Khodi” Dill on all of my writing and in any circumstances related to my poetry , instead of the legal “Cody” Dill . I’d adopted the alternate spelling in university rather unceremoniously and withou t much thought, using it in most social 25 situations in which the legal spelling of my name was not required. In retrospect, it may have been a somewhat subconscious way for me to mark myself as ethnic and not mainstream, in rebellion against my own assimil ation ; t he spelling did arise around the same time that I essentially “realized” that I was black, and has stuck ever since. Because most of my writing is anti - oppressive and indeed comes from a place of being othered, the alternate spelling seems appropriate, and I use it with much pride. The fact that I do employ both this spelling and the legal spelling in different circumstances m ight stand as a symbol for the duality of mixed race identit y . In my epistemology, knowledge can be constructed/derived through creating art, and in this case, through writing and performing spoken word poetry. **I believe that mental liberation through conscientization of oppressive structures is plausible in spoken w ord poetry engagement as well , and that this conscientization is a key forerunner to anti - oppressive action**. **This ontology and this epistemology will help inform my research on spoken word poets and their experiences of oppression.** It is worth noting tha t in his eloquent exploration of biracial ambiguity, Black Berry, Sweet Juice: On Being Black and White in Canada (2001), Lawrence Hill also spoke of creative writing as a means of racial identity formation and meaning - making. That author , who also penned The Book of Negroes , is a certain inspiration to me in all of my writing . My attachment to my research is intimate. As a visible minority, I have experienced oppression. **As a spoken word artist, I have experienced the liberation that accompanies writing and performance**. Finally, as a secondary school teacher and anti - racist educator, I recognize the need for practicable anti - racist educational tools. Even when teachers understand some of the theory behind anti - racist education, they often have trouble translating it into engaging, curriculum - relevant student learning. Because of my deep desire **to promote anti - oppression and a ffect the conscientization of oppressed youth, I hope to build a convincing argument that a niche for anti - oppression exists in** E nglish Language Arts (and other) **classrooms, where, using spoken word poetry, educators can help widen the circle of anti - oppressive allies.** SK

#### As such, poetry is net beneficial because it brings community solidarity and can reach wider audiences. The educational space is key for poetry performance to function anti-oppressively.

Dill 5,

**In terms of poetry performance**, educating people seems a worthwhile end, intended or not, but surely it is not “the end” in the sense associated with finality. In many instances **education is**, in fact, a **means**. **In the case of anti - oppressive education, such as that created by t he poets in this study, it may be a means of garnering support from community, thereby generating solidarity** (again, this may not always be an intended outcome, but seems a welcome one for all of the study participants). Dictionary.com (2012) defines soli darity as “union or fellowship arising from common r esponsibilities and interests .” In the literature review, solidarity seemed to result when poetry pushed listeners out of their comfort zones , as with “taboo” content, and into third space (Conley, 2008; Keenan & Miehls, 2007) . In third space, wherein listeners experience tension or discomfort, they are more apt to reframe thinking, and perhaps to develop empathetic view s. **This change in consciousness is the first ste p in building a supportive, affirming community.** To begin with, it seems that the community formed by Saskatoon’s Tonight It’s Poetry (TIP) series has some pre - existing level of solidarity with its social justice oriented members. In describing that comm unity, the study participants used words like “amazing ,” “support ,” “less afraid ,” “more open ,” “diversity ,” “safer environment ,” 105 “accepting , ” “sexually and gender diverse ,” “rewarding , ” “wonderful,” “motivating , ” “reassuring ,” “embraced ,” “understood ,” “h umbling ,” “thinking critically ,” and “community of awareness .” The list goes on. I think Sara essentially summed up the sense of group solidarity at TIP when she said, “...it’s really nice to hear that either people have interacted with similar things like that or to just have a bunch of people clap because you’re like ‘I’m a big fucking queer ” (p. 6). Obviously, since the Saskatoon poetry slams take place at an establishment that is open to the public, one is bound to encounter audience members who are not so supportive, but it is the core community of poets and poetry fans who maintain a status quo of socially just operation. As Sara stated, “the general sediment that I think it’s been built on is just really accepting of people. The backbone of how it started, of who has taken it over, of the people that, that make sure that it happens, is just like, they are genuinely wonderful people and just so accep ting” (p. 7). The TIP audience and organizers seem largely concerned with maintaining the slam as a safe space for all voices, as evidenced by TIP events like the Social Justice Showcase and the Female Voices of the Prairies slam , both held in 2012 . The general atmosphere suggests that the community is not merely accepting of marginalized voices, but protective of them. The audience normally uses its responses to live poetry as a means of affirming or, in the event of injustice, condemning the performed content. This dialogical system of performance and response helps to uphold social justice as a part of that which is valued by the poetry community. As a natural safegu arding element , it may help to divert people whose poetry promotes oppressive messages away from the TIP stage. So, the TIP community seems to represent belonging, and is already a source of solidarity for poets from oppressed groups. Perhaps it is the newcomers to the audience and to the stage who represent the potential to build even more of that solidarity, not to mention all of those who view the numerous spoken word poems that are posted on Youtube and shared via social networking websites. After all, it is those with little e xposure to counter - narratives who will benefit the most from a poet like Zoey “Giving people insight to maybe thoughts that [she] was having or observations that [she has] made and then sharing that” (p. 6). Zoey recalled having “an epiphany on stage” (p. 6): 106 I felt like the crowd and me were all one. And I was here for a purpose and this is what I’m here to do. I have a place here, right? And then last night I performed again and because my heart’s in the right place and because I’m here for the right reasons, people can understand tha t. People can feel that and I’m no longer the underdog. We’re all here together and we’re all sharing and the crowd is equally as important if not more important than me being on stage and sharing these thoughts with them. So spoken word, poetry and per forming is changing so much for me, right now (p. 6). Zoey’s story clearly shows the link between solidarity - building and personal and social empowerment, where giving insights into life on the other side of difference is a form of educating, which can lea d to the formation of “ common responsibilities and interests” (Dictionary.com, 2012). Zoey even referred to spoken word as “a manifestation of an alternative education” (p. 7). It is important to point out here the way in which spoken **word differs from page poetry** (again, page poetry refers to that which is intended to be published in text, and not in performance) **in its inherent way of reaching a wide audience in a short time span.** The sharing of videos via the Internet has no doubt helped this situation, but even at a slam or spoken word show, **the spoken word poet may feel as if she is reaching more people more quickly than she may have through publication in text .** Elise shared her thoughts on the matter: ...**there is this sense of just being alon e in your darkened room when you’re composing poems as page poems and trying to get them published in literary journals or what have you; a lot of the pieces start to feel dead or they start to feel like you know they will never be known, whereas with spok en word there’s often - I was just amazed at how many opportunities there were in such a short period of time to reach** a larger number **of people, and in a very visceral and immediate sort of way** (p. 7). **Three of the other participants discussed the concept of immediacy in spoken word as well, and all participants discussed the feeling of dialoguing or otherwise interacting with the audience, during or after performance**. Zoey indicated that in her view, **the dialogue does not end** after a slam either, **but cont inues throughout the week as listeners share 107 what they heard with their friends and family, creating a perpetual dialogue** (p. 7). Perhaps **this ripple effect could garner even more solidarity for the oppressed**. As Sara phrased it, everything is just “a di alogue away” (p. 8). Such a dialogue may lead to empathy among listeners , even if that empathy is prefaced by some conflict . After all, the participants have likened their poetry to a sharing of insights into their worldviews. **While empathy may** represen t the potential for a change in perception, and **bring to light those populations formerly “erased from view”**  (Butler, 1992, p. 13, as cited in Schick, 2000, p. 87), **it certainly must not be the end goal** of a true anti - racist education. Schick (2000, 2011) and Srivastava (2005) warn us about the potentially detrimental impacts of emotional displays in anti - racism. In some instances, displays of indignation at perceived racism may be more about protecting self - image and white dominance than they are about c reating real change. In her study among white pre - service teachers in cross - cultural education, Schick (2000) discovered that “Participants are interested in affirming their subject positions as qualified teachers whose liberal goodness includes being non prejudiced” (p. 95). Sometimes, this trend was displayed through emotional displays, such as those resulting from an annoyance at feeling white guilt, in which the participants attempted to retreat into a “neutral, blameless corner” of whiteness and entit lement (p . 92). Even still, Schick notes that participants expressed a desire to “become a source of something positive” and, in light of their shifting identities, were indeed able to change (98). She cites Belsey (1980) , who notes that the subject is “ perpetually in the process of construction, thrown into crisis by alterations in language and in the social formation, capable of change. And in the fact that the subject is a process lies the possibility of transformation. (p. 50, as cited in Schick, 2000 , p. 99). SK

### Part 5 is the Judge

#### We must generate discussion with individuals who are not part of the Asian American experience so they can locate us as a diverse identity. This is your role as a teacher.

Osajima 2, [Keith Osajima, Pedagogical Considerations in Asian American Studies, *Journal of Asian American Studies* 1.3 (1998) 269-292. SK]

**Teaching is** an extremely complex and difficult task. It **requires that we manage an array of responsibilities**. **We must** decide what subject-content knowledge and skills we want students to learn; be able to organize topics to facilitate student access to the material; select resource materials that will communicate desired information; create classroom environments where learning can take place; **be able to work with students with diverse backgrounds**, skills, and perspectives; **orchestrate** classroom **activities that will engage students**; **and** devise assignments and projects that will both **enhance student learning** and assess their progress--all **under the pressures of time and other institutional demands**. In Asian American studies courses, what and how we teach is further complicated by four interrelated changing contexts that alter the student composition and dynamics of our classes. First, **for those teaching** [End Page 270] Asian American courses populated mainly by **Asian students**, **demographic shifts have dramatically changed who we teach**. What was once a largely American-born populace, comprised mainly of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino students, is now a rich multiethnic/multiracial population with potentially significant numbers of Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Koreans, Thais, and South Asians. Today, it is likely that Asian students born outside the United States outnumber those born within. The growing size and diversity of the student population make it increasingly difficult to get a handle on the interests, backgrounds, perspectives, and abilities of the Asian students in our classes. In this context, **the meaning of a "relevant" education becomes harder to discern.** In the early years of Asian American studies, focusing on the experiences of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos was deemed relevant because most of our students were from those backgrounds and could "see" themselves in the material. If relevant education still means helping students to examine their histories, cultures, heritages, and contributions, then our curricular focus should be significantly broadened to include the experiences of new Asian groups. But, responding to those demographic changes is easier said than done. The experiences of new groups continue to be omitted or are awkwardly included. **In the case of South Asians**, for example, Madhulika Khandelwel observes that "**few Asian American programs deal with South Asians as an integral part of the communities** they intend to respond to." 4 Efforts to include South Asians into courses often involves a "crude additive strategy that results only in tokenism." 5 Gary Okihiro notes that pressures to broaden the scope of what is covered within the limited time of a semester can lead to a unsatisfactory situation where attention to "Koreans, Filipinos, and South Asians trail(s) off toward the end of the quarter or semester as 'sort of like' the Chinese and Japanese." 6 Second, the successful development of Asian American studies "east of California" and the institution of "multicultural" or "ethnic studies" requirements in colleges further diversifies the student composition in our classes, giving rise to new teaching challenges. In predominantly white private colleges or institutions located away from large concentrations of Asians, one cannot expect that Asian students will constitute the [End Page 271] majority of an Asian American Keith Osajima - Pedagogical Considerations in Asian American Studies - Journal of Asian American Studies 1:3 7/21/15, 4:04 PM http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.princeton.edu/journals/journal\_of\_asian\_american\_studies/v001/1.3osajima.html Page 3 of 17 studies course. Similarly, Asian American courses that fulfill university-wide cultural diversity requirements are likely to draw significant numbers of non-Asian students. Teaching Asian American studies in a multiracial context can complicate classroom interactions and force unanticipated shifts in course designs. For example, when I taught an Asian American studies course at a small, private university in the east, over half of my students were white and many of them took the class because they were interested in Asian studies. This forced me to spend more time defining the very basic contours of Asian American studies, which was frustrating for the Asian American students who wanted to move at a faster pace. Sheng-mei Ma found it challenging to teach white, middle-class students who became quite defensive, annoyed, and impatient when Asian American literature and the topic of racism were introduced in his world literature class. 7 When non-Asian students seeking to fulfill an ethnic studies requirement became a majority of Sucheng Chan's class at the University of California, Santa Cruz, she had to figure out ways to counter the silence of her Asian students, whom she sensed felt more vulnerable and unsafe in the mixed-race classroom environment. 8 Third, changes in the racial and political terrain means we are likely to encounter a disjuncture between the 1960s spirit of critique and activism that informs many of our goals in Asian American studies and the orientations of our 1990s students. Many of our **students come with worldviews fashioned out of post-civil rights assumptions that racism has been effectively ameliorated through legislative reforms and removal of legal barriers**. **Others come with a decidedly conservative, anti-civil rights perspective** reflective in the critique of political correctness, immigrant bashing, and anti-affirmative action positions. **Some bring with them deeply embedded anti-communist sentiments carried from their homelands.** For these students, belief in the meritocracy and the value of individual hard work is strong. **Course material in Asian American studies forces students to confront these strongly-held beliefs which can produce intellectual and emotional discord, and generate resistance**. 9 Diane Fujino observed that, "**some students' emotional investment in their worldview** (e.g. that society is fair and offers opportunities [End Page 272] equally to all) **blocks their ability to view the topic from a systemic perspective."** 10 Her **students were limited by their "individual-level thinking" which led them to offer "an anecdotal example that counters the systemic patterns presented by the teacher and the readings."** 11 Eric Wat found that the presence of "conservative" students led to an unfortunate division in his class. Conservative students were simplistically labeled as the "enemy or obstacles" by the "progressive" students (and vice versa) and there was little exchange, dialogue, and mutual learning in the class. 12 In all of those instances, teaching moved beyond the intellectual realm and brought in the affective facets of learning. Finally, in a variation of those changing political contexts, teachers encounter resistance to learning when they want to develop an understanding of oppression and a commitment to social justice among students whose class, gender, ethnic, or sexual orientation places them in positions of privilege. For example, when Asian American women's positions are discussed, it can be difficult to get white and Asian male students to appreciate how racism and sexism afford them structural advantages. Defensive and feeling "bashed" by women students, whites and Asian men may be unable to "hear" the women's perspectives and not ready to take a stand in the fight against sexism and patriarchy. 13 Similar dynamics arise when middle- and upper-class students are asked to study the oppression of the working class and the consequences of systemic poverty; when straights are presented with material on homosexuality and must confront their homophobia; or Keith Osajima - Pedagogical Considerations in Asian American Studies - Journal of Asian American Studies 1:3 7/21/15, 4:04 PM http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.princeton.edu/journals/journal\_of\_asian\_american\_studies/v001/1.3osajima.html Page 4 of 17 when members of certain ethnic groups (like the Japanese) are faced with the harsh realities that "their people" perpetrated horrendous imperialist mistreatment of other Asians. SK

#### The judge has the obligation to invest in liberating the oppressed in the scope of Lincoln Douglas debate.

#### The role of the ballot is to vote for the one who performatively or methodologically actualizes this approach. This should be your primary concern because any other benefit in the debate sphere can only be accessed by an equal space for dialogue.

Smith, [Smith, Elijah. History maker, A Conversation in Ruins: Race and Black Participation in Lincoln Douglas Debate. SK]

It will be uncomfortable, it will be hard, and **it will require continued effort but the necessary step in fixing this problem**, like all problems, **is the community as a whole admitting that such a problem** with many “socially acceptable” choices **exists** in the first place. Like all systems of social control, the reality of racism in debate is constituted by the singular choices that institutions, coaches, and students make on a weekly basis. I have watched countless rounds where **competitors attempt to win by rushing to abstractions** to distance the conversation from the material reality that black debaters are forced to deal with every day. One of the students I coached, who has since graduated after leaving debate, had an adult judge write out a ballot that concluded by “hypothetically” defending my student being lynched at the tournament. Another debate concluded with a young man defending that we can kill animals humanely, “just like we did that guy Troy Davis”. Community norms would have competitors do intellectual gymnastics or make up rules to accuse black debaters of breaking to escape hard conversations butas someone who understands that experience, **the only constructive strategy is to acknowledge the reality of the oppressed, engage the discussion from the perspective of authors who are** black and brown, **and** then **find strategies to deal with the issues** at hand. It hurts to see competitive seasons come and go and have high school students and judges spew the same hateful things you expect to hear at a Klan rally. **A student should not,** **when presenting an advocacy that aligns them with the oppressed, have to justify why oppression is bad. Debate is** not just a game, **but a learning environment with liberatory potential.** Even if the form debate gives to a conversation is not the same you would use to discuss race in general conversation with Bayard Rustin or Fannie Lou Hamer, that is not a reason we have to strip that conversation of its connection to a reality that black students cannot escape. **Current** coaches and **competitors** alike **dismiss concerns of racism and exclusion**, won’t teach other students anything about identity in debate other than how to shut down competitors who engage in alternative styles and discourses, **and refuse to engage** in those discussionseven outside of a tournament setting. A conversation on privilege and identity was held at a debate institute I worked at this summer and just as any theorist of privilege would predict it was the heterosexual, white, male staff members that either failed to make an appearance or stay for the entire discussion. No matter how talented they are, we have to remember that the students we work with are still just high school aged children. If those who are responsible for participants and the creation of accessible norms won't risk a better future for our community, it becomes harder to explain to students who look up to them why risking such an endeavor is necessary. As a student provided with the opportunity and privilege of participation by the Jersey Urban Debate League, I can remember plenty of tournaments in high school where the only black students at the tournament were individuals from my high school. It was a world shattering experience; no one spoke to us first and those we did approach didn’t have to acknowledge the fact that, every weekend, our failures and successes made us the representatives of black America in the minds of students and judges that never had to freely associate with black people. The irony of participation for black students is that to understand your existence in an academic, usually white, space throws that very space into question. They are both told that joining debate will make you smarter, more personable, and better able to communicate; however those who are already there don’t speak to them, they don’t vote for them, and they don’t associate with them. The unanswered question, then, is “For which bodies does LD exist?” **Continuing to parade LD under the guise of neutrality will reproduce the problem at hand.** Hiring practices, Judge Preferences /Strike Sheets, invitations to Round Robins, and who coaches don’t require their students to associate with all contribute to the problem at hand because they “accidentally” forget to include people of color. When only two major debate workshops bothered to hire anyone black to work with their students this summer it spoke to the reality of which bodies are seen as being competent enough to teach. Their skills as pedagogues weren’t dismissed because they aren’t qualified, but because they are black .**If we are to confront structural discrimination** against the black community, **we** can’t retreat to a defense of neutrality **but have to take strides in addressing and ending the cycle of exclusion**. If black students do not feel comfortable participating in LD they will lose out on the ability to judge, coach, or to force debate to deal with the truth of their perspectives.SK

#### Your ballot can be a tool to free those Asian Americans who are oppressed in the educational debate space and serve to understand internalized student oppression.

Osajima 2, [Osajima, Keith. "Internalized Oppression and the Culture of Silence: Rethinking the Stereotype of the Quiet Asian American Student" *Race and Racism in the United States* (n.d.): 152-55. Web. SK]

CONCLUSION As teachers of Asian students, how can **understanding** the nature of **internalized oppression [can]** **help** us **in** practice? I think **the value of the perspective** is that **it** **locates** an important impetus of individual behavior in the oppressive structures and practices in society. It is not the unchanging nature or static culture of Asian- American students that accounts for their quiet behavior. Rather, it is the **internalizing of student and racial oppression** that **makes Asian students feel** that the best way to get through is to be quiet or makes them believe **that they can be nothing other than the quiet student.** The key implication here is that **Asian students should not be** blamed nor **chastised** if they exhibit this behavior. It is not their fault that societal structures and oppression conveyed messages that this is the way to behave. **As teachers,** the notion of **internalized oppression should help us to see how** the pressures of **being an Asian-American student can** often **be limiting and constraining. Our job is to create a learning environment that contradicts those pressures and constraints**; **that** encour- ages and **makes it safe for Asian students to take some risks and to critically examine their lives in relation to societal oppressions**. I tried to structure these contra- dictions into the class I just completed. I) To move away from the banking system. I tried to limit the amount of time I lectured. In a 2- hour meeting, I never talked for more than half the period. I also tried to lecture in a way that elicit[s]ed as much interactive thinking as possible**.** 2) To encourage each student to take some risks and think about issues, I had them regularly do "dyads" where I would have students pair off and each take a few minutes to think, for themselves, about a question or issue that was being presented. These dyads usually preceded the general discussion, and helped students to prepare and organize their thoughts belore presenting them in the larger group. 3) I made it clear that each stu- dent's contribution w[sh]ould be listened to respectfully, and that each student would get a chance to participate. To accomplish this, I made sure that no one, including myself, could "trash," ridicule, or harshly criticize another student's viewpoint**.** I also did not allow any one or two students to dominate discussions. I made it clear to them that I wanted to give other people a chance to talk before they got another chance. All of these techniques seemed to work well. Students participated in discussions, and began to grap- ple with questions that they had rarely been asked before. The expe- rience provided me with hope that **the educational process can do more than reproduce a compliant work force, but can be a vehicle for liberation.** I invite you to join the struggle. SK

#### [Poem Part 3]

So I’m asking you now

To vote for me

To vote for my

Liberation strategy

To vote for my speech act

That is key

To vote against an oppressive

Ideology.

#### [Extra/Underview Poem]

CX checks

To avoid useless theory

And to alter

My advocacy

The debate space must

Include me

Which is why first comes

Accessibility

And please as the negative

Do not perm

I offer a method

Which is why you affirm.

#### [1AR/1AC add on] Debate attempts to protect whiteness by making the speech a performance by the body rather than a performance of the body. The judge has the unique obligation to endorse the speech act of the 1AC, a performance of the body, which serves to challenge racism.

Vincent,

As a community we must re-conceptualize this distinction the performance by the body and of the body by re-evaluating the role of the speech and the speech act. **It is no longer enough for judges to vote off of the flow anymore.** Students of color are being held to a higher threshold to better articulate why racism is bad, which is the problem in a space that we deem to be educational. It is here where I shift my focus to a solution. Debaters must be held accountable for the words they say in the round. We should no longer evaluate the speech. Instead we must begin to evaluate the speech act itself. Debaters must be held accountable for more than winning the debate. They must be held accountable for the implications of that speech. **As educators and adjudicators in the debate space we also have an ethical obligation to foster an atmosphere of education.** **It is not enough** for judges **to offer predispositions suggesting that they do not endorse racist**, sexist, homophobic **discourse**, or justify why they do not hold that belief, and still offer a rational reason why they voted for it.  Judges have become complacent in voting on the discourse, if the other debater does not provide a clear enough role of the ballot framing, or does not articulate well enough why the racist discourse should be rejected. **Judges must be willing to foster a learning atmosphere by holding debaters accountable for what they say in the round. They must be willing to vote against a debater if they endorse racist discourse.** They must be willing to disrupt the process of the flow for the purpose of embracing that teachable moment. The speech must be connected to the speech act. We must view the entire debate as a performance of the body, instead of the argument solely on the flow. Likewise, judges must be held accountable for what they vote for in the debate space. If a judge is comfortable enough to vote for discourse that is racist, sexist, or homophobic, they must also be prepared to defend their actions. We as a community do not live in a vacuum and do not live isolated from the larger society. That means that judges must defend their actions to the debaters, their coaches, and to the other judges in the room if it is a panel. Students of color should not have the burden of articulating why racist discourse must be rejected, but should have the assurance that **the educator with the ballot will protect** them in those moments. Until we re-conceptualize the speech and the speech act, **and until judges are comfortable enough to vote down debaters for a performance that perpetuates [racism]** violence **in the debate space, debaters and coaches alike will remain complacent in their privilege**. **As educators we must begin to shift the paradigm and be comfortable doing this**. As a community we should stop looking at ourselves as isolated in a vacuum and recognize that the discourse and knowledge we produce in debate has real implications for how we think when we leave this space. Our performances must be viewed as of the body instead of just by it. As long as we continue to operate in a world where our performances are merely by bodies, we will continue to foster a climate of hostility and violence towards students of color, and in turn destroy the transformative potential this community could have. SK

# Frontlines

## Performance Frontlines

### AT: Bailey’s CP

### AT: Politics Key

These poems allow us to think outside of the law, to consider the fundamental entanglement of aesthetics and politics.

Trapp 2013 (Erin Trapp, Vice President of Advancement and External Relations and Executive Director of the MSU Denver Foundation, “The Enemy Combatant as Poet: The Politics of Writing in Poems from Guantanamo,” “Postmodern Culture Journal of Interdisciplinary Thought on Contemporary Culture, http://www.pomoculture.org/2013/06/17/the-enemy-combatant-as-poet-the-politics-of-writing-in-poems-from-guantanamo/)

Dost’s poem describes the hypocrisy of the liberalism that has informed the “justice” of oppressive measures, leading to the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq and to extralegal practices at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib. The poem’s tropes display the suffering body and thereby present the body as an object to observe. Dost testifies to the imprisonment of the “I” and to the “I”’s persistence as a “beating heart”; these conditions of confinement are portrayed to be witnessed. The speaker seems to affirm the persistence of the human spirit in the face of suffering, invoking a central and pervasive idea about the sufferer’s humanity. In the poems, the various layers of testimony—of the enemy combatant who testifies as a criminal, as a victim, and as a witness—create a legal situation outside of which none of the poems’ readers can think and which makes it impossible for them to see the relation between aesthetics and politics. If we consider the poems’ aesthetics, however, instead of reading them only as extensions of the discourses of human rights and of political resistance, then we can get a better idea of the political subject and of the torture and suffering to which he testifies

We have to recognize that these poems are both aesthetic and political. The personal is political and can speak of political truth.

Fragopoulos 11 (George, professor at CUNY Queens College in NY. "Poems from Guantanamo, The detainees Speak" http://quarterlyconversation.com/poems-from-guantnamo-the-detainees-speak-edited-by-marc-falkoff)

For these reasons and many more, discussing the “aesthetic” quality of the works in the anthology is highly problematic. For one, the poems, as Marc Falkoff writes in his introduction, were translated not by literary translators but by “linguists with secret-level security clearances” (although Miller did translate one of the poems). And while one cannot necessarily assume that a literary translator would have done a better job, we can at least say, without controversy, that the “literary quality” of the translations were not of great concern. (And as critics of literature in translation, we should always be aware of the distance that exists between us and the work at hand. This fact should never be taken for granted.) We should not, therefore, simply read individual poems in the search for literary quality—even though some are excellent poems—but rather read them with an eye toward achieving an understanding of what poetry can suggest as poetry. It is only in approaching the poems in such a manner that we can even hope to articulate the complexities of the situations that gave rise to such works. Any attempt to read the poems simply as poems can obscure the political realities at work; and to simply discuss the political context is to dismiss the possibility that such poems can also be works of “art.” The key is, I believe, not to supplement one with the other—the political as supplement to the aesthetic, the aesthetic as supplement to the political—but to suggest that there is no dividing line between the two, or at least that the division cannot be easily located. To easily dismiss the aesthetic as not expressing something “politically” tangible is to fall into a reductive and troubling binary that seeks to isolate and bureaucratize fields of knowledge. Writing for the Guardian back in July of 2007, critic Shirley Dent said of the collection, “A red warning sign goes on for me when poetry gets dragged into legal and political battles—I can almost guarantee the poetic truths reached for will not be the objective, universal and complex truths that poetry can offer, but the subjective, individual and simple. This sort of poetic justice makes a travesty of equality before the law.” (Though, strangely enough, Dent will go on to read Camus’s L’Étranger as an example of how a work of fiction can critique problematic ideological positions, specifically France’s colonial occupation of Algeria. Can prose represent an “objective truth” that poetry cannot?) The equating of the “subjective” and the “individual” to the “simple” is itself an incredibly reductive view of things, and one that forgets to consider, as Foucault and others remind us, that the personal is political and the political is personal. The same goes for the lyric. There is no personal lyric that does not speak of a “public” and “political truth.”

Look at the poem as an aesthetic object in order to analyze the interplay between aesthetics and politics.

Falkoff 07, Marc; B.A., University of Pennsylvania / M.A., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Ph.D., Brandeis University J.D., Columbia Law School. Now an Associate Professor of Law at Northern Illinois University. He has been quoted in the Los Angeles Times, the Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Daily Law Bulletin. He’s served on panels and spoken at numerous universities about his experience with the detainees at Guantanamo. He is the attorney for 17 detainees at Guantanamo. http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/2007/10/03/poetry-and-politics-at-guantanamo-an-interview-with-marc-falkoff-editor-of-poems-from-guantanamo-the-detainees-speak/

However, I think it’s acceptable at some level, to some degree, to look at these poems as aesthetic objects. When you look at them, some people would agree that some of the poems are quite pedestrian, which is understandable given that the book is made up almost entirely of amateur poets. On the other hand, there are some poems that to my mind are quite striking in terms of imagery, metaphor and thematic complexity. But this said, clearly this book is about more than aesthetics, and in fact, even though you mentioned comments about aesthetics, I would say that for the most part the critiques I’ve seen did not provide evidence of reasoned aesthetic judgments. What they were really were ad hominem attacks against the detainees, made by right-wing bloggers who were outraged that a University Press was publishing poems by Guantánamo detainees, and who responded with bullying tactics, resorting to mockery and ridicule. You may have seen some of the sites on which bloggers invited readers to write “Gitmo poetry,” along the lines of: “Roses are red/ Violets are blue/ I’m stuck in Guantánamo/ And when I get out I’ll behead you.” Andy Worthington: That’s very good. Almost eerily accurate. I’d say. Tell me about other responses. Marc Falkoff: Well, the Pentagon was asked about the book before it had been published, and Commander Jeffrey Gordon, the Pentagon’s chief press officer, gave his opinion, declaring that poetry was a “tool” that the detainees were using in a “battle” against Western democracies. He had not even read the poems –- at best one or two online somewhere –- but he claimed that the detainees were not writing the poems in order to create art, but as part of an attack on Western democracies. Once the book was published, the New York Times book reviewer Don Chiasson wrote that no one should be so hard-hearted as to bring aesthetic judgments to bear on the poems. That’s OK, but what he went on to do was perverse. At the same time that I was being decried on blogs as a “useful idiot,” a dupe of terrorists spouting jihadist rhetoric, Don Chiasson comes along and says that, because all the poems had to be first cleared by the Pentagon, the Pentagon has cleared and chosen these specific poems and has allowed their publication as a cunning public relations move to demonstrate that dissent is allowed at Guantánamo. So, simultaneously, I’m both a “useful idiot” for terrorists and a dupe of the Pentagon. Finally, on this point, I do not think you must take aesthetics off the table by any means, but the interplay between aesthetics and politics in the poems raises interesting questions, and is not something to shy away from. Discussions about aesthetic judgments and political context, relating to the ways in which poetry is written and discussed, have been debated for hundreds of years and raise interesting and valid questions, and a review in Slate, by Meghan O’Rourke, captured what a smart discussion of these issues would look like.

### AT: Tuck and Yang

#### Not speaking for other reflects blame and maintains the oppression of others – speaking for other is necessary and good

Laura Sells, Instructor of Speech Communication at Louisiana State University, 1997, “On Feminist Civility: Retrieving the Political in the Feminist Public Forum”

In her recent article, "The Problems of Speaking For Others," Linda Alcoff points out the ways in which this retreat rhetoric has actually become an evasion of political responsibility. Alcoff's arguments are rich and their implications are many, but one implication is relevant to a vital feminist public forum. The retreat from speaking for others politically dangerous because it erodes public discourse. First, the retreat response presumes that we can, indeed, "retreat to a discrete location and make singular claims that are disentangled from other's locations." Alcoff calls this a "false ontological configuration" in which we ignore how our social locations are always already implicated in the locations of others. The position of "not speaking for others" thus becomes an alibi that allows individuals to avoid responsibility and accountability for their effects on others. The retreat, then, is actually a withdrawal to an individualist realm, a move that reproduces an individualist ideology and privatizes the politics of experience. As she points out, this move creates a protected form of speech in which the individual is above critique because she is not making claims about others. This protection also gives the speaker immunity from having to be "true" to the experiences and needs of others. As a form of protected speech, then, "not speaking for others" short-circuits public debate by disallowing critique and avoiding responsibility to the other. Second, the retreat response undercuts the possibility of political efficacy. Alcoff illustrates this point with a list of people--Steven Biko, Edward Said, Rigoberta Menchu--who have indeed spoken for others with significant political impact. As she bluntly puts it, both collective action and coalition necessitate speaking for others.

#### As intellectuals in the academia, it is important and possible to reclaim the debates space and resist militarization – the alternative is complete takeover and a military state

Henry A. Giroux, #1 badass, 11-20-2008, “Against the Militarized Academy,” <http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy>

While there is an ongoing discussion about what shape the military-industrial complex will take under an Obama presidency, what is often left out of this analysis is the intrusion of the military into higher education. One example of the increasingly intensified and expansive symbiosis between the military-industrial complex and academia was on full display when Robert Gates, the secretary of defense, announced the creation of what he calls a new "Minerva Consortium," ironically named after the goddess of wisdom, whose purpose is to fund various universities to "carry out social-sciences research relevant to national security."([1](http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy#1)) Gates's desire to turn universities into militarized knowledge factories producing knowledge, research and personnel in the interest of the Homeland (In)Security State should be of special concern for intellectuals, artists, academics and others who believe that the university should oppose such interests and alignments. At the very least, the emergence of the Minerva Consortium raises a larger set of concerns about the ongoing militarization of higher education in the United States. In a post-9/11 world, with its all-embracing war on terror and a culture of fear, the increasing spread of the discourse and values of militarization throughout the social order is intensifying the shift from the promise of a liberal democracy to the reality of a militarized society. Militarization suggests more than simply a militaristic ideal - with its celebration of war as the truest measure of the health of the nation and the soldier-warrior as the most noble expression of the merging of masculinity and unquestioning patriotism – [and] an intensification and expansion of the underlying values, practices, ideologies, social relations and cultural representations associated with military culture. What appears new about the amplified militarization of the post-9/11 world is that it has become normalized, serving as a powerful educational force that shapes our lives, memories and daily experiences. As an educational force, military power produces identities, goods, institutions, knowledge, modes of communication and affective investments - in short, it now bears down on all aspects of social life and the social order. As Michael Geyer points out, what is distinctive about the militarization of the social order is that civil society not only "organizes itself for the production of violence,"([2](http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy#2)) but increasingly spurs a gradual erosion of civil liberties. Military power and policies are expanded to address not only matters of defense and security, but also problems associated with the entire health and social life of the nation, which are now measured by military spending, discipline and loyalty, as well as hierarchical modes of authority. As citizens increasingly assume the roles of informer, soldier and consumer willing to enlist in or be conscripted by the totalizing war on terror, we see the very idea of the university as a site of critical thinking, public service and socially responsible research being usurped by a manic jingoism and a market-driven fundamentalism that enshrine the entrepreneurial spirit and military aggression as means to dominate and control society. This should not surprise us, since, as William G. Martin, a professor of sociology at Binghamton University, indicates, "universities, colleges and schools have been targeted precisely because they are charged with both socializing youth and producing knowledge of peoples and cultures beyond the borders of Anglo-America."([3](http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy#3)) But rather than be lulled into complacency by the insidious spread of corporate and military power, we need to be prepared to reclaim institutions such as the university that have historically served as vital democratic spheres protecting and serving the interests of social justice and equality. What I want to suggest is that such a struggle is not only political, but also pedagogical in nature. Over 17 million students pass through the hallowed halls of academe, and it is crucial that they be educated in ways that enable them to recognize creeping militarization and its effects throughout American society, particularly in terms of how these effects threaten "democratic government at home just as they menace the independence and sovereignty of other countries."([4](http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy#4)) But students must also recognize how such anti-democratic forces work in attempting to dismantle the university itself as a place to learn how to think critically and participate in public debate and civic engagement.([5](http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy#5)) In part, this means giving them the tools to fight for the demilitarization of knowledge on college campuses - to resist complicity with the production of knowledge, information and technologies in classrooms and research labs that contribute to militarized goals and violence. Even so, there is more at stake than simply educating students to be alert to the dangers of militarization and the way in which it is redefining the very mission of higher education. Chalmers Johnson, in his continuing critique of the threat that the politics of empire presents to democracy at home and abroad, argues that if the United States is not to degenerate into a military dictatorship, in spite of Obama's election, a grass-roots movement will have to occupy center stage in opposing militarization, government secrecy and imperial power, while reclaiming the basic principles of democracy.([6](http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy#6)) Such a task may seem daunting, but there is a crucial need for faculty, students, administrators and concerned citizens to develop alliances for long-term organizations and social movements to resist the growing ties among higher education, on the one hand, and the armed forces, intelligence agencies and war industries on the other - ties that play a crucial role in reproducing militarized knowledge. Opposing militarization as part of a broader pedagogical strategy in and out of the classroom also raises the question of what kinds of competencies, skills and knowledge might be crucial to such a task. One possibility is to develop critical educational theories and practices that define the space of learning not only through the critical consumption of knowledge but also through its production for peaceful and socially just ends. In the fight against militarization and "armed intellectuals," educators need a language of critique, but they also need a language that embraces a sense of hope and collective struggle. This means elaborating the meaning of politics through a concerted effort to expand the space of politics by reclaiming "the public character of spaces, relations, and institutions regarded as private" on the other.([7](http://www.truth-out.org/archive/item/81138:against-the-militarized-academy#7)) We live at a time when matters of life and death are central to political governance. While registering the shift in power toward the large-scale production of death, disposability and exclusion, a new understanding of the meaning and purpose of higher education must also point to notions of agency, power and responsibility that operate in the service of life, democratic struggles and the expansion of human rights. Finally, if higher education is to come to grips with the multilayered pathologies produced by militarization, it will have to rethink not merely the space of the university as a democratic public sphere, but also the global space in which intellectuals, educators, students, artists, labor unions and other social actors and movements can form transnational alliances to oppose the death-dealing ideology of militarization and its effects on the world - including violence, pollution, massive poverty, racism, the arms trade, growth of privatized armies, civil conflict, child slavery and the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. As the Bush regime comes to an end, it is time for educators and students to take a stand and develop global organizations that can be mobilized in the effort to supplant a culture of war with a culture of peace, whose elemental principles must be grounded in relations of economic, political, cultural and social democracy and the desire to sustain human life.

#### Education is a prerequisite

Marimba Ani, 1994, Yurugu: An African-centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior, p. 1-2

This study of Europe is an intentionally aggressive polemic. It is an assault upon the European paradigm; a repudiation of its essence. It is initiated with the intention of contributing to the process of demystification necessary for those of us who would liberate ourselves from European intellectual imperialism. Europe's political domination of Africa and much of the "non-European" world has been accompanied by a relentless cultural and psychological rape and by devastating economic exploitation. But what has compelled me to write this book is the conviction that beneath this deadly onslaught lies a stultifying intellectual mystification that prevents Europe's political victims from thinking in a manner that would lead to authentic self-determination. Intellectual decolonization is a prerequisite for the creation of successful political decolonization and cultural reconstruction strategies. Europe's political imperialistic success can be accredited not so much to superior military might, as to the weapon of culture: The former ensures more immediate control but requires continual physical force for the maintenance of power, while the latter succeeds In long-lasting dominance that enlists the cooperation of its victims (i.e., pacification of the will). The secret Europeans discovered early in their history is that culture carries rules for thinking, and that if you could impose your culture on your victims you could limit the creativity of their vision, destroying their ability to act with will and intent and in their own interest. The truth is that we are all "intellectuals," all potential visionaries. / This book discusses the evolution of that process of imposition, as well as the characteristics of cultural beings who find it necessary to impose their will on others. It is not a simple process to explain, since the tools we need in order to dissect it have been taken from us through colonial miseducation.1 It is necessary to begin, therefore, with a painful weaning from the very epistemological assumptions that strangle us. The weaning takes patience and commitment, but the liberation of our minds is well worth the struggle. / My chosen field is African-Centered cultural science — the reconstruction of a revolutionary African culture. I teach Pan-African studies. The experience convinces me more and more, however, that teaching Pan-African studies well means teaching European studies simultaneously. To be truly liberated, African people must come to know the nature of European thought and behavior in order to understand the effect that Europe has had on our ability to think victoriously. We must be able to separate our thought from European thought, so as to visualize a future that is not dominated by Europe. This is demanded by an African-centered view because we are Africans, and because the future towards which Europe leads us is genocidal.

# Working

#### Narratives key to challenge hegemonic knowledge production – marginalized voices are already excluded in the academia in the status quo

Stanley 7 [Dr. Christine A. Stanley '90 is the Vice President and Associate Provost for Diversity and Professor of Higher Education Administration in the College of Education and Human Development at Texas A&M University, 2007, “When Counter Narratives Meet Master Narratives in the Journal Editorial-Review Process”, http://edr.sagepub.com/content/36/1/14.full.pdf+html]//dickies

I am a Black woman professor and have served in a variety of senior administrative positions in higher education for the past 14 years. My administrative experiences include serving as president of a national organization, as associate director of a teaching center, as associate dean of faculties, and now as executive associate dean for faculty affairs. All these experiences have been at research-extensive universities. I have been engaged in research on the experiences of faculty members of color teaching at predominantly White research-extensive universities for the past 6 years. Specifically, I have been exploring the production and dissemination of new knowledge and the ways these relate to the diversity of the professoriate in higher education. African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, and Latinas/Latinos, in particular, constitute between 20% and 25% of the U.S. population. However, they represent 13.4% of the faculty at degree-granting institutions of higher education (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000). There are many reasons for this disparity. Some scholars argue that it is due to issues related to campus life and climate (Aguirre, 2000; Bower, 2002; Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Turner, 2003), discrimination (Freeman, 1978; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner & Meyers, 1999), and tenure and promotion (Antonio, 2002; Blackburn, Wenzel, & Bieber, 1994; Fenelon, 2003; Ruffins, 1997). However, another reason that has not yet been explored is the interplay between master narratives in the peer-review process for publication and the ways this could affect the diversity of the professoriate. The term master narrative, or grand narrative, was first introduced by French philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984). Such narratives are hallmarks of “the enlightenment and Western philosophical tradition” (Giroux, 1993, p. 463) that act to universalize and cast dialogues in binary, contrasting categories that support the maintenance of dominant groups. A master narrative is a script that specifies and controls how some social processes are carried out. Furthermore, there is a master narrative operating in academia that often defines and limits what is valued as scholarship and who is entitled to create scholarship. This is problematic, because the dominant group in academia writes most research and, more often than not, they are White men. Members of marginalized groups, such as women and people of color, have had little or no input into the shaping of this master narrative. Therefore, research on marginalized groups by members of marginalized groups that reveals experiences that counter master narratives is often compared against the White norm (Fine, Weis, Powell, & Wong, 1997). Perspectives that run opposite or counter to the presumed order and control are counter narratives. These narratives, which do not agree with and are critical of the master narrative, often arise out of individual or group experiences that do not fit the master narratives. Counter narratives act to deconstruct the master narratives, and they offer alternatives to the dominant discourse in educational research. They provide, for example, multiple and conflicting models of understanding social and cultural identities. They also challenge the dominant White and often predominantly male culture that is held to be normative and authoritative. Such counter narratives in higher education by women faculty members and faculty members of color might suggest that differences exist for them in their academic experiences that are distinct from those of majority White faculty members (Erler & Kowaleski, 2003). For example, these targeted groups often give voice to counter experiences related to individual, institutional, and societal oppression that shape their behaviors in a given situation (Fine, Ayala, & Perkins, 2000; Romero & Stewart, 1999). These alternative lenses of analyses and interpretations of experiences frequently question and criticize master narratives.

#### Perm endorse the 1AC as an affirmation of desire centered research – that’s what Tuck and Yang actually advocate for

Tuck and Yang 14 [Eve Tuck earned her Ph.D.in Urban Education at The Graduate Center, The City University of New York in 2008. She has conducted participatory action research with New York City youth on the uses and abuses of the GED option, the impacts of mayoral control, and school non-completion, and K. Wayne Yang, the co-founder of the Avenues Project, a non-profit youth development organization, and also the co-founder of East Oakland Community High School. He also worked in school system reform as part of Oakland Unified School District’s Office of School Reform. An accomplished educator, Dr. Yang has taught high school in Oakland, California for over 15 years and received the Academic Senate Distinguished Teaching Award in 2010, 2014, “R-Words: Refusing Research”, <https://www.academia.edu/3570279/R-words_Refusing_research>] //dickiesAlongside analyses of pain and damage-centered research, Eve (Tuck 2009, 2010) has theorized desire-based research as not the antonym but rather the antidote for damage-focused narratives. Pain narratives are always incomplete. They bemoan the food deserts, but forget to see the food innovations; they lament the concrete jungles and miss the roses and the tobacco from concrete. Desirecentered research does not deny the experience of tragedy, trauma, and pain, but positions the knowing derived from such experiences as wise. This is not about seeing the bright side of hard times, or even believing that everything happens for a reason. Utilizing a desire-based framework is about working inside a more complex and dynamic understanding of what one, or a community, comes to know in (a) lived life. Logics of pain focus on events, sometimes hiding structure, always adhering to a teleological trajectory of pain, brokenness, repair, or irreparability—from unbroken, to broken, and then to unbroken again. Logics of pain require time to be organized as linear and rigid, in which the pained body (or community or people) is set back or delayed on some kind of path of humanization, and now must catch up (but never can) to the settler/unpained/abled body (or community or people or society or philosophy or knowledge system). In this way, the logics of pain has superseded the now outmoded racism of an explicit racial hierarchy with a much more politically tolerable racism of a developmental hierarchy.2 Under a developmental hierarchy, in which some were undeterred by pain and oppression, and others were waylaid by their victimry and subalternity, damagecentered research reifies a settler temporality and helps suppress other understandings of time. Desire-based frameworks, by contrast, look to the past and the future to situate analyses.

#### Its try or die for research – it’s the only hope for inquiry – the aff is an investigation of the crime which is what their ev calls for

Tuck and Yang 14 [Eve Tuck earned her Ph.D.in Urban Education at The Graduate Center, The City University of New York in 2008. She has conducted participatory action research with New York City youth on the uses and abuses of the GED option, the impacts of mayoral control, and school non-completion, and K. Wayne Yang, the co-founder of the Avenues Project, a non-profit youth development organization, and also the co-founder of East Oakland Community High School. He also worked in school system reform as part of Oakland Unified School District’s Office of School Reform. An accomplished educator, Dr. Yang has taught high school in Oakland, California for over 15 years and received the Academic Senate Distinguished Teaching Award in 2010, 2014, “R-Words: Refusing Research”, <https://www.academia.edu/3570279/R-words_Refusing_research>] //dickies

Research is a dirty word among many Native communities (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), and arguably, also among ghettoized (Kelley, 1997), Orientalized (Said, 1978), and other communities of overstudied Others. The ethical standards of the academic industrial complex are a recent development, and like so many post–civil rights reforms, do not always do enough to ensure that social science research is deeply ethical, meaningful, or useful for the individual or community being researched. Social science often works to collect stories of pain and humiliation in the lives of those being researched for commodification. However, these same stories of pain and humiliation are part of the collective wisdom that often informs the writings of researchers who attempt to position their intellectual work as decolonization. Indeed, to refute the crime, we may need to name it. How do we learn from and respect the wisdom and desires in the stories that we (over) hear, while refusing to portray/betray them to the spectacle of the settler colonial gaze? How do we develop an ethics for research that differentiates between power—which deserves a denuding, indeed petrifying scrutiny—and people? At the same time, as fraught as research is in its complicity with power, it is one of the last places for legitimated inquiry. It is at least still a space that proclaims to care about curiosity. In this essay, we theorize refusal not just as a “no,” but as a type of investigation into “what you need to know and what I refuse to write in” (Simpson, 2007, p. 72). Therefore, we present a refusal to do research, or a refusal within research, as a way of thinking about humanizing researchers.

#### Narratives of pain and trauma are the only way to challenge individualized understandings of colonialism and cultural genocide

Brommer 13 [Barbara Brommer, Department of American Studies, Utrecht University, “Representing Native American Trauma through Literature,” June 28th, 2013, <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/278845>] //dickies

Representing Native American trauma places Silko within postcolonial writers, who, according to Bran Nicol, see the dominant version of history as a narrative, which becomes means of cultural and social oppression (123). As such postcolonial narratives aim to counter the claim to universality that the master narrative usurps (122). Ron Eyerman in Cultural Trauma and the Formation of African American Identity refers to this attack on master narratives, in the context of slavery, as the “struggle of meaning” between the victims of slavery and its oppressors who commemorated slavery as “benign and civilizing” (5). Since collective memory and group identity are shaped not by direct experience of slavery, but representations of it, Eyerman claims, the intellectuals are obliged to counter white misrepresentations and demand recognition of slavery as the cultural trauma of African Americans (3). Eyerman also claims that collective memory of a historical event does not necessarily stem from the direct experience, but is rather established through multiple representations in mass-media (3). Literature therefore becomes one of possible mediums for cultural trauma. If, as in the context of slavery, the dominant memory misrepresents the collective traumatic experience, the intellectuals within the traumatized group bear the responsibility to bring out the repressed memory and communicate it to the dominant culture (Eyerman 3). Yet Eyerman clearly divides cultural trauma from personal traumas, when he claims that “there is a difference between trauma as it affects individuals and as cultural process,” since the latter aims mainly at the formation of collective identity through the memory of a traumatic event (1). My argument, on the other hand, through the analysis of Silko’s narratives, seeks to emphasize the relation between personal and cultural trauma. Eyerman forgets that personal trauma, like cultural trauma, is also inseparably connected to language. In “The Premises and Technique of Interpretation,” Sigmund Freud discusses the psychoanalyst’s manner of interpreting dreams and states clearly that “it is the dreamer himself who should tell us what his dream means” (54). Personal act of communication, putting a mental image into language is what enables us to know the meaning of a dream. Furthermore, witnessing trauma, especially through a narrative, also happens on a personal rather than collective level. The act of reading enables mediation of trauma. Thus, reading ceases to be a neutral passive act, and becomes active participation in the creation of meaning. The psychoanalysis perspective therefore coincides with Susan Sontag’s definition of a narrative as “an instrument of modifying consciousness and organizing new modes of sensibility” (qtd. in Nicol 40). Therefore, I argue that Ceremony and Almanac of the Dead mediate personal trauma to establish the connection with the reader on an individual level. Through personal identification the narrative enables the change of consciousness and new sensibility to occur within the reader. Rather than remaining on the level of cultural trauma, Silko shows the experience of trauma through individualized physical pain and suffering to evoke readers’ empathy and identification. Only later does she connect the personal traumas of her characters to the larger political context. Silko is not alone in seeing the value of representing individualized pain. Elaine Scarry in The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World believes that voicing pain is crucial to its elimination (9). Pain, according to Scarry, “has no voice” (3), and no object (4), and as such it is problematic to communicate. Scarry shows how difficult the feeling of empathy is to evoke, for, as she claims, “to have great pain is to have certainty; to hear that another person has pain is to have doubt” (7). The task of conveying pain rests on language representations, which adequately communicate pain to evoke empathy. Empathy, on the other hand, becomes the responsibility of the reader interwoven in the readerly response to the text. In the context of trauma mediation, readers’ approach to the narrative coincides with the stance of a trauma witness. In “Silko’s Blood Sacrifice: The circulating Witness in Almanac of the Dead,” David Moore distinguishes the role of a witness from disengaged watching or voyeurism. He claims that “witnessing recognizes its own implications in the other” (161). Silko’s experimental narratives serve to connect personal trauma to the larger historical and cultural context of Native American on-going colonization. As such the narratives not only allow readers to identify personally with the traumatized, but also force the readers to recognize broader cultural implications. In making this argument about trauma, this thesis takes a different tack than prior criticism, which has tended to focus on oral tradition and Native American culture. Indeed, the usual interpretative approach to Silko assumes that her narratives originate within the Native American tradition of storytelling. Likewise, most scholars have analyzed how Silko’s novels incorporate Native American concepts into new genre, namely the novel. Yet, Silko’s introduction to Ceremony in which Ts’its’tsi’nako, Thought Woman creates the world through a story (1) shows how Silko’s view of stories resembles the postmodern concept of a narrative. According to Nicol, postmodernism “rests on the assumption that fiction – no matter how realist or experimental – is always, to use Robbe Grillet’s terms, a matter of ‘constructing’ rather than ‘transcribing reality’” (21). Even though Nicol claims that postmodernism insists the world of the novel is “heterocosmic”, complete in itself, he also acknowledges the need for the reader to actually recreate the described world through readers’imagination (25). The act of reading a novel therefore resembles the act of storytelling, which assumes participative roles of the storyteller and listeners. Moreover, the reader of postmodern fiction becomes the link between the world of the novel and reality making postmodern fiction both self-reflexive and referential. Silko’s representations of trauma reconstruct the reality that acknowledges Native American genocide and larger cultural trauma. Silko’s readers, following the author’s instructions, bring her narratives into being and anchor the narrative-created world in the readers’ own reality.

#### The exclusion of the narratives of the 1AC is an active preference for acts of supposedly objective acts of white colonialism – creates a form of genocide

Million 9 [Dian Million, Professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington, 2009, “Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist’s Approach to Affect and History,” <https://www.academia.edu/3665291/Felt_Theory_An_Indigenous_Approach_to_Affect_and_History>] //dickies

Why does the subjective record of these experiences matter? Where, for instance, would the felt experience of being raped by a priest at ten years old be expressed and for whose knowledge would this experience be important? If the child has no words to name it or if her silence is enforced discursively and physically, did nothing happen? If it is not “documented” (legitimated in its own time), how does it exist? Is it silenced or deferred? Why does the adult who speaks of her subjective history not offer another type of knowledge that would add to the nuanced account of a “happening” that affects us now? What of the children of those who carry this knowledge? What are the resonances that are always present by omitting such knowledge? The issue here must both surpass the issue of agency and extend it; it must return to this pain that had/has nowhere to go. Pain that continuously haunts the edges of all such narratives is not rational. Klein reminds us of Lyotard’s pronouncement of narrative difference: The scientist questions the validity of narrative statements and concludes that they are never subject to argumentation or [scientifi c] proof . . . savage, primitive, underdeveloped, backward, alienated, composed of opinions, customs, authority, prejudice, ignorance, ideology. Narratives are fables, myths, legends, fit only for women and children.56 So it is that the Native’s subjective, feminized, infantilized, and above all domestically positioned personal or oral narrative can never be proper history inside a disciplinary space protected by its gatekeeper’s desire to be a “science,” convinced of its right to police the past. This subjective narrative, with its inappropriate pain, cannot be tested any more than the Native’s own culturally positioned narrated oral history. The Native narrative cannot be “objective.” But what is objective except Western science’s own wet dream of detached corporeality? Indian narratives of residential school trauma could not remain inactive. Native scholars’ judgment that this denotes a form of genocidal behavior by the participating states will not be suppressed. Native scholars, communities, and individuals were fairly in agreement that this pain that had the power to destroy them, individually and communally, would not be silenced any longer. It became their story. Feelings, including their anger, would and must reenter their accounts, which would be incomplete without them. Their experience was pain that had to be historicized and taken into account in the public record. However, it would be no easy matter to get any settler nation’s public or academic practice to give space or credibility to these voices, either in literature or in history. The successful struggle to rearticulate the colonial residential school experience as abuse was not a move to articulate victimology; it was a move to ground a present healing in a past properly understood, felt, and moved beyond. In Canada, the residential school survivors’ individual narratives (people’s individual testimonies) ultimately would be deferred to the “test” of the courtroom to perform their “truth,” and adjudication would be confi ned to the present. In court, Canada came up short of offi cially narrating any historical culpability.57 So, if Indians captured public opinion, even momentarily, a case can be made that, for once, their own felt knowledge did speak itself.

#### Narratives of suffering are key to compassion and political action

Porter 6 [Elisabeth Porter, Professor and head of the School of International Studies at the University of South Australia, 2006, “Can Politics Practice Compassion?”, Hypatia 21.4] //dickies

First, attentiveness to suffering is needed because as fragile, vulnerable humans, we all suffer sometimes. The suffering I refer to here is that which has political implications. "How we engage with the suffering humanity around us affects and mirrors the health of our souls and the health of society" (Spelman 1997a, 12). Feeling compassion is a moral prompt to encourage a response to those we know are suffering. Nussbaum suggests that compassion rests on three beliefs about the nature of suffering.20 First, that the suffering is serious, not trivial. Second, "that the suffering was not caused primarily by the person's own culpable actions" (1996, 31).21 For example, suffering is caused by mercenaries or armies who murder all men in a village as "soft targets"; "smart bombs" that "surgically" destroy independent media networks and family homes; "friendly fire" that accidentally kills allies; and missiles on "probing missions" that kill civilians in war as "collateral damage." The Australian government's mandatory policy of detaining asylum seekers causes suffering. Third, "the pitier's own possibilities are similar to those of the sufferer" (31). Compassion acknowledges vulnerability, an admittance of one's own weakness, without which arrogant harshness prevails. For this reason, those who have suffered great hardship, pain, or loss are often are the most compassionate. Yet, we do not wish suffering on anyone simply to teach what is required for compassion. Cornelio Sommaruga, who headed the International Committee of the Red Cross for ten years, has reflected that it was his "daily realization that the more one is confronted with the suffering caused by war, the less one becomes accustomed to it" (1998, ix). Just as Weil used the term "discernment" (quoted in R. Bell 1998), Nussbaum suggests that "judgment" that does not utilize the "intelligence of compassion in coming to grips with the significance of human suffering is blind and incomplete" (1996, 49). This judgment is crucial for understanding the conditions that give rise to injury and thus to the wise responses that might address such harms. When the experience of, forexample, being in a detention camp in a remote desert area seems to crush the morale of asylum seekers, attentiveness to their plight in the form of gifts, letters, and practical or legal help affirms their humanity. We see this dignity explained in Seyla Benhabib's concept of the "generalized other," which treats people as having equal rights and duties including the right to seek asylum when one has been persecuted, and the "concrete other," which "requires us to view each and every rational being as an individual with a concrete history, identity, and affective-emotional constitution" (1987, 164). Ethical politics is about trying to cultivate decent polities that affirms human dignity. Such politics acknowledges the uniqueness of citizens, and affirms "our humanity in making others part of our lives while recognizing their right to be different" (Coicaud and Warner 2001, 13). It is [End Page 112] by no means simple to humanize the experience of the other when that experience is horrific, such as in torture, war-rape, sexual trafficking, or existing in detention camps. The "humanizing" comes in recognizing the intensity of pain, feeling some of the anguish, and realizing human vulnerability to the point of appreciating that in different situations, we too might be tortured, raped, forced into prostitution, or seeking asylum. Yet there are competing interpretations of the nature of pain and its causes, consequences, and moral, religious, and social significance. Debating pain and suffering places it in a political space. A compassionate society that values people must value different people with different interpretations of what is needed to ease suffering. It is hypocritical for states to mouth the rhetoric of compassion and respect of obligations to others, but in practice to ignore suffering. For example, mandatory detention of asylum seekers in Australia can last for many years.22 Isolation, uncertainty, separation from families, and memories of past traumas in one's country of origin often lead to mental breakdown or prolonged anguish. Yet the Australian government claims to respect the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. I have explained what constitutes suffering and that attentiveness affirms dignity. I clarify further the nature of attentiveness. If morality is about our concerned responsiveness, attention is the prerequisite to intense regard. Iris Murdoch borrowed the concept of "attention" from Simone Weil "to express the idea of a just and loving gaze" (1985, 34) on the reality of particular persons. Part of the moral task is, as Murdoch reiterated, to see the world in its reality—to see people struggling in pain and despair. Weil, too, gave "attention" a prominent place, grounded in concrete matters of exploitation, economic injustice, and oppression.23 Her emphases were pragmatic in struggling against the debilitating nature of life—how "it humiliates, crushes, politicizes, demoralizes, and generally destroys the human spirit" (quoted in R. Bell 1998, 16)—and idealistic in striving to put ideals into practice. Too readily, we think about suffering in the height of media accounts of famine, suicide bombings, terrorist attacks, refugee camps, and war's destructive impact, and retreat quickly into our small world of self-pity. As Margaret Little explains, Murdoch's point was that "the seeing itself is a task—the task of being attentive to one's surroundings" (1995, 121). We need to "see" reality in order to imagine what it might be like for others, even when this includes horrific images from war violence.24 Yet despite the presence of embedded journalists, media reporting of such events as the invasion of Iraq has remained entirely typical in that "the experience of the people on the receiving end of this violence remains closed to us" (Manderson 2003, 4). Without political imagination, we will not have compassionate nations. "Without being tragic spectators, we will not have the insight required if we are to make life somewhat less tragic for those who . . . are hungry, and oppressed, and in pain" (Nussbaum 1996, 88). In order for political leaders to demonstrate [End Page 113] compassion, they should display the ability to imagine the lives led by members of the diverse groups that they themselves lead. Otherwise, dispassionate detachment predominates and acts like the 2003 invasion of Iraq lead to talk of freedom without seeing fear, assume liberation without replacing the losses, and abuse power without addressing people's pain. "The difference, for instance, between someone who discerns the painfulness of torture and someone who sees the evil of it is that the latter person has come to see the painfulness as a reason not to torture" (Little 1995, 126). Attentive ethics in international relations is about priorities and choices

#### Challenging hegemonic narratives within existing institutions key – giving up on academia only re-entrenches authority

Giroux 13 [Henry Giroux, a former professor at Penn State and currently the Global Television Network Chair of English and Cultural Studies at McMaster University in Ontario, Canada, SEPTEMBER 27, 2013, “Henry Giroux on the Militarization of Public Pedagogy”, http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/09/27/teaching-and-learning-with-henry-giroux/]//dickies

SK: Here’s a paradox for you: How do you teach social change or resistance to authority within public schools – institutions that many have criticized for being authoritarian and resistant to change? HG: You can’t do it if you believe these institutions are so authoritarian that there’s simply no room for resistance. That’s a mistake. Power is never so overwhelming that there’s no room for resistance. Power and the forms it takes are always contradictory in different ways and there is always some room for resistance. What needs to be understood is the intensity of dominant power in different contexts and how it can be named, understood, and fought. The issue here is to seize upon the contradictions at work in these institutions and to develop them in ways that make a difference. During the sixties, the term for this was the long march through institutions and the reference had little to do with reform but with massive restructuring of the instruments of democracy. And we also need to impose a certain kind of responsibility upon adults in the schools – whether they be social workers, university professors, or high school teachers. Clearly it’s not enough to say they operate under terrible burdens that make them voiceless. I understand those structural conditions but it doesn’t mean they shouldn’t resist either. That means they not only have to promote particular kinds of pedagogies in their classrooms but they also have to join social movements that give them the force of a collective voice that can bear down on these problems and create change. The greatest battle that we’re facing in the U.S. today is around the question of consciousness. If people don’t have an understanding of the nature of the problems they face they’re going to succumb to the right-wing educational populist machine. This is a challenge that the Left has never taken seriously because it really doesn’t understand that at the center of politics is the question of pedagogy. Pedagogy is not marginal, it is not something that can be reduced to a method, limited to what happens in high schools, or to what college professors say in their classes. Pedagogy is fundamental not only to the struggle over culture but also, if not more importantly, the struggle over meaning and identity. It’s a struggle for consciousness, a struggle over the gist of agency, if not the future itself – a struggle to convince people that society is more than what it is, that the future doesn’t simply have to mimic the present. SK: What would this look like in practice? One encouraging experiment I had the privilege of observing up close is taking place at the Emiliano Zapata Street Academy in Oakland. There, in an “alternative high school” within the Oakland Unified School District, student interns working with a group called BAY-Peace lead youth in interactive workshops on topics relevant to their lives: street violence, the school-to-prison pipeline, military recruiters in their schools, and so on. HG: I think two things have to go on here, and you just mentioned one of them. We’ve got to talk about alternative institutions. There has to be some way to build institutions that provide a different model of education. On the Left, we had this in the ‘20s and ‘30s: socialists had Sunday schools, they had camps; they found alternative ways to educate a generation of young people to give them a different understanding of history, of struggle. We need to reclaim that legacy, update it for the twenty-first century, and join the fight over the creation of new modes of thinking, acting, and engaging ourselves and our relations to others. On the second level is what Rudi Dutschke called what I referred to earlier as the “long march through the institutions.” It’s a model that makes a tactical claim to having one foot in and one foot out. You can’t turn these established institutions over to the Right. You can’t simply dismiss them by saying they’re nothing more than hegemonic institutions that oppress people. That’s a retreat from politics. You have to fight within these institutions. Not only that, you have to create new public spheres. SK: Henry, we’ve covered a lot of territory. Is there anything we haven’t addressed that you would like to bring up before closing? HG: We need both a language of critique and a language of hope. Critique is essential to what we do but it can never become so overwhelming that all we become are critics and nothing else. It is counterproductive for the left to engage in declarations of powerlessness, without creating as Jacques Rancière argues “new objects, forms, and spaces that thwart official expectations.” What we need to do is theorize, understand and fight for a society that is very different from the one in which we now live. That means taking seriously the question of pedagogy as central to any notion of viable progressive politics; it means working collectively with others to build social movements that address a broader language of our society – questions of inequality and power (basically the two most important issues we can talk about now.) And I think that we need to find ways to support young people because the most damage that’s going to be done is going to be heaped upon the next generations. So what we’re really fighting for is not just democracy; we’re fighting for the future. And so critique is not enough; we need a language of critique and we need a language of possibility to be able to go forward with this.

#### Even if speech is not liberatory—the act of speech challenge knowledge and imperialist discourse

Linda Martín **Alcoff** (Department of Philosophy at Syracuse University. “The Problem of Speaking For Others” Cultural Critique Winter 1991-**92**, pp. 5-32.) [Gunnarsdottir]

The final response to the problem of speaking for others that I will consider occurs in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's rich essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?"[14](http://www.alcoff.com/content/speaothers.html#footnote14) Spivak rejects a total retreat from speaking for others, and she criticizes the "self-abnegating intellectual" pose that Foucault and Deleuze adopt when they reject speaking for others on the grounds that their position assumes the oppressed can transparently represent their own true interests. According to Spivak, Foucault and Deleuze's self-abnegation serves only to conceal the actual authorizing power of the retreating intellectuals, who in their very retreat help to consolidate a particular conception of experience (as transparent and self-knowing). Thus, to promote "listening to" as opposed to speaking for essentializes the oppressed as non-ideologically constructed subjects. But Spivak is also critical of speaking for which engages in dangerous re-presentations. In the end Spivak prefers a "speaking to," in which the intellectual neither abnegates his or her discursive role nor presumes an authenticity of the oppressed, but still allows for the possibility that the oppressed will produce a "countersentence" that can then suggest a new historical narrative. Spivak's arguments show that a simple solution can not be found in for the oppressed or less privileged being able to speak for themselves, since their speech will not necessarily be either liberatory or reflective of their "true interests", if such exist. I agree with her on this point but I would emphasize also that ignoring the subaltern's or oppressed person's speech is, as she herself notes, "to continue the imperialist project."[15](http://www.alcoff.com/content/speaothers.html#footnote15) Even if the oppressed person's speech is not liberatory in its content, it remains the case that the very act of speaking itself constitutes a subject that challenges and subverts the opposition between the knowing agent and the object of knowledge, an opposition which has served as a key player in the reproduction of imperialist modes of discourse. Thus, the problem with speaking for others exists in the very structure of discursive practice, irrespective of its content, and subverting the hierarchical rituals of speaking will always have some liberatory effects.

#### No Way Out: search for dialogue can be continued however speaking for others remains the ONLY current means for political accountability

Linda Martín **Alcoff** (Department of Philosophy at Syracuse University. “The Problem of Speaking For Others” Cultural Critique Winter 1991-**92**, pp. 5-32.) [Gunnarsdottir]

I agree, then, that we should strive to create wherever possible the conditions for dialogue and the practice of speaking with and to rather than speaking for others. Often the possibility of dialogue is left unexplored or inadequately pursued by more privileged persons. Spaces in which it may seem as if it is impossible to engage in dialogic encounters need to be transformed in order to do so, such as classrooms, hospitals, workplaces, welfare agencies, universities, institutions for international development and aid, and governments. It has long been noted that existing communication technologies have the potential to produce these kinds of interaction even though research and development teams have not found it advantageous under capitalism to do so.   
However, while there is much theoretical and practical work to be done to develop such alternatives, the practice of speaking for others remains the best option in some existing situations. An absolute retreat weakens political effectivity, is based on a metaphysical illusion, and often effects only an obscuring of the intellectual's power. There can be no complete or definitive solution to the problem of speaking for others, but there is a possibility that its dangers can be decreased. The remainder of this paper will try to contribute toward developing that possibility.

#### Speaking for others is inevitable—we cannot speak without speaking for others

Lauren **Marino** (published author in the Malacester Journal of Philosophy, Volume 14, Issue 1, Spring 20**05**. “Speaking for Others”) [Gunnarsdottir]

If the self is located within language games the there is a commonality between those who share language games. This removes some of the barriers between selves and I do have access to the experience of those with whom I share language games. Sharing language games means sharing experience. I am able to speak for those who language games I play. There are some problems with this understanding. Alcoff thinks membership in a group is not precise or determinate. It is unclear which groups I could belong to and which of those groups I should single out to affiliate myself. More importantly, membership in a group doesn’t necessarily mean an authority to speak for the whole group. However, if we accept that the self is constituted within language, then those who share language games with me have direct access to my experience in away that no one can ever have access to a Cartesian mind. We do not need to ask for absolute identity, language and experience between speakers but just a commonality. Furthermore, *Bernstein* argues that we cannot speak without speaking for other people. The speaker’s location is necessarily a location in relation to other people. The relationship cannot be removed, and we cannot avoid it. Speaking at all makes speaking for others inevitable

## Theory Frontlines

### AT: Nebel/Debois Spec T

1. **I meet** – I defend that all adolescents ought to have the right to make autonomous medical choices, extrapolate an advantage scenario off of Asian Americans specifically

2. **I meet** – my advocacy text doesn’t restrict the right to only Asian Americans, but restricts the intention of the right to helping Asian Americans – it can have other intentions but those are extrinsic to my advocacy.

3. This shell bites back into the criticism – extend Osajima 1 – Asian American students are silenced within the space – your shell is just a mechanism by which you restrain my voice and don’t let me recognize Asian Americans specifically without assimilating them into white politics

4. ROB comes first – it’s a question of accessibility – that’s Smith – precludes fairness and education because they presume that we enter the debate round on an equal playing field but that is a *false assumption*.

5.

### AT: Resolved T

C/I: Resolved means to reduce by mental analysis:

Dictionary.com defines,

**to reduce by mental analysis**

B. I meet

C. Standards

### AT: T/Theory (General)

**1.** Fairness and education are used by theory to simply try and exclude the Asian American perspective – you say my criticism is not fair or not educational, but that is a concept that is grounded in exclusion – the very structure of Asian American oppression is founded on the exclusion of perspectives meaning that theory bites back into the criticism – engage instead of silencing my voice – that’s Osajima 2.

**2.** Asian American oppression is built upon the silencing of individuals – theory (whether it be drop the argument or drop the debater) tries to silence my voice and make it so I cannot voice my oppression in the debate space – as such, it bites back in.

#### 1. You link – by imposing some theoretical norm on me you perpetuate the tyranny of received paradigms which constrains my thinking – this also means that you doom the alternative meaning the alt can never solve with the representations you purport within the debate space. We deconstruct the regime of truth and determine which practices are legitimate after we do the alternative. This essentially functions as a permutation on your theoretical considerations – after we liberate the oppressed, then we can discuss your theoretical arguments and find alternatives that are net beneficial – turns any of your offense on theory.

Osajima, [AMERASIA JOURNAL 21:1 & 2 (1995):79-87 Postmodern Possibilities: Theoretical and Political Directions for Asian American Studies KEITH OSAJIMA. SK]

Gary Okihiro notes that **one of the failures** 81 AMERASIA JOURNAL **of Asian American studies has been its inability to critically challenge and break free of the** theoretical paradigms **inherited from traditional disciplines. He writes: ”Despite the radical origins of the field, very few Asian American scholars have truly challenged** **the ’tyranny of received paradigms.”’12** Instead, **many Asian Americanists have been relatively conservative in their theoretical thinking, relying on European ethnic studies**. From a postmodern perspective, **the** tyranny of received paradigms **can be understood as a** power effect **of modern** academic discourses **and accompanying** institutional practices**.** Most **Asian American scholars in the social sciences adhere closely to the normative standards set forth in traditional academic disciplines**. These privilege certain modernist discourses, such as the value of objective positivist science in the search for universal laws and reductionist explanatory models. In part this adherence is simply a matter of survival (as any graduate student or assistant professor will testify to), but it also appears to be a matter of choice-an uncritical acceptance and privileging of traditional academic practices. In either instance, **the tyranny of received paradigms reflects the power of modem discourses to define and oftentimes** limit the range **of theoretical tools we use to study Asian Americans**. As Foucault notes, **modern discourses create “regimes of truth” in which a circumscribed set of ideas and practices are deemed legitimate and truthful**.13 **By revealing the Eurocentric, constructed nature of dominant regimes of truth in academe, Asian Americanists may find it easier to rethink theoretical positions and to consider** alternative approaches. **Turning the postmodern gaze inward on Asian American studies also raises critical questions about the fundamental assumptions of identity politics that have organized the field**. The field emerged at a time when representing the Asian American experience was a simpler task. In the late 1960s, the majority of young students, scholars and activists pioneering the development of Asian American studies shared many common characteristics. Most were educated, American-born, English-speaking and middle class, and were either Japanese, Chinese or Filipino. Racism and economic exploitation were privileged, in our analyses and practices, as the main forms of oppression. SK

#### 2. Alienation of perspectives results in an unequal power position which destroys fairness – link turns any of your offense back to fairness. Also, if there is oppression within the debate space then there is no decisive outcome that is possible because of extraneous forces of racism meaning that I control the internal link into *resolvability* which is an independent voter as the judge must resolve the round.

Nietzsche, [Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm. *On the Genealogy of Morals*. New York: Vintage, 1967. SK]

Origin of justice. – Justice (**fairness**) **originates between parties of** approximately **equal power**, as Thucydides correctly grasped (in the ter- rible colloquy between the Athenian and Melian ambassadors): **where there is no** clearly recognizable superiority of force **and a contest would result in mutual injury producing no decisive outcome** **the idea arises of coming to an understanding** and negotiating over one another’s demands: the characteristic of exchangeis the original characteristic of justice. Each satisﬁes the other, inasmuch as each acquires what he values more than the other does. One gives to the other what he wants to have, to be hence- forth his own, and in return receives what one oneself desires. Justice is **thus requital and exchange under the presupposition of an approximately** equal power position**:** revenge therefore belongs originally within the domain of justice, it is an exchange. Gratitude likewise. – Justice **goes back** naturally **to** the viewpoint of an **enlightened self-preservation**, thus to the egoism of the reﬂection: ‘to what end should I injure myself uselessly and perhaps even then not achieve my goal?’– so much for the origin of justice. Since, **in accordance with their intellectual habit**, **men have forgotten the original purpose of so-called** just and **fair actions**,and especially because children have for millennia been trained to admire and imitate such actions, it has gradually come to appear that a just action is an unegoistic one: but it is on this appearance that the high value accorded it depends; and this high value is, moreover, continually increasing, as all valuations do: for something highly valued is striven forimitated, multiplied through sacriﬁce, and grows as the worth of the toil and zeal expended by each individual is added to the worth of the valued thing – How little moral would the world appear without forgetfulness! A poet could say that God has placed forgetfulness as a doorkeeper on the thresh- old of the temple of human dignity. SK

#### 3. The important thing is that we meet A interpretation not ONE interpretation. No such thing as predictable definition - there is no objective or fixed meaning to any of the words in the resolution – framework is a language game surrounding the use of a word – their only value is in reappropriation to explore the meaning of the topic.

**Davidson and Smith in 99** (Joyce N and Mick; Wittgenstein and Irigaray: Gender and Philosophy in a Language (Game) of Difference; Hypatia Vol 14 No2; MUSE

#### 4. The Notion That Racism Is Part Of A Grand Game and people of color just play the race card perpetuates white dominance

**Wise 2009** (Color-Blind, Power-Oblivious: Eric Holder and the Whitewashing of Racism zmag.org)

#### 5. We have this weapon and we should use it - conscientization helps young people like us become more critically conscious and active within our world which solves all their offense on the K

**Knopp and Bale ’12** (4/17/12 Sarah Knopp is a public high school teacher with many reviewed published articles in United Teachers, Jeff Bale is Department of Teacher Education at Michigan State University, “Education and Capitalism : Struggles for Learning and Liberation”, Print )

## Kritik Frontlines

### AT: Anthro

#### Anti-anthropocentric discourse fosters a problematic race neutral mentality—liberal white activists refuse to interrogate the cultural characteristics of our relationship to the environment because doing so would force them to confront their privilege

**JMB, '12** ~02/29/12, JMB is his pen name, he is a PhD student in Environmental Studies in Oregon, He's citing numerous peer reviewed studies in his article. "Colorblind Racism and Environmentalism", <http://ecesisfactor.blogspot.com/2012/02/colorblind-racism-and-environmentalism.html~~>  
In their analysis of food justice, Teresa M. Mares and Devon C.   
AND  
decisions and the codification of environmental activism, and environmental benefits as white.

#### The animal rights movement is premised on an ignorance of the racialized epistemology that structures social relations in general and specifically, the history of anti-anthro movements—their ignorance is not benign and is instead a move by elites to control the anti-anthro agenda

**Harper ’10,** Amie Breeze, PhD Candidate in Critical Food Geographies, studying how race, class, gender, and region affect relationship to food, UC-Davis (“Race as a “Feeble Matter” in Veganism: Interrogating whiteness, geopolitical privilege, and consumption philosophy of “cruelty-free” products,” Journal for Critical Animal Studies, Volume VIII, Issue 3, http://www.criticalanimalstudies.org/journal-for-critical-animal-studies/archives/) Note: AR stands for “animal rights”

Practitioners of veganism abstain from animal consumption (dietary and non-dietary). However, the culture of veganism itself is not a monolith and is composed of many different subcultures and philosophies throughout the world, ranging from punk strict vegans for animal rights, to people who are dietary vegans for personal health reasons, to people who practice veganism for religious and spiritual reasons (Cherry, 2006; Iacobbo, 2006). Veganism is not just about the abstinence of animal consumption; it is about the ongoing struggle to produce socio-spatial epistemologies of consumption that lead to cultural and spatial change; it is about contesting the dominance of animal-product consumption narrative that is central to, and dominant in, the socio-historical as well as present nation-building rhetoric of the United States. Within the context of my interests in feminist geography, racial politics, and consumption studies, I have observed that mainstream vegan outreach models and top selling vegan-oriented books rarely, if ever, acknowledge such differing socio-historically racialized epistemologies amongst the white middle class status quo and the collectivity of other racial groups, such as African Americans, Chinese-Americans, or Native Americans. There is an underlying assumption amongst mainstream vegan media that racialization and the production of vegan spaces are disconnected. However, **space**, vegan or not, **is raced** (Dwyer and Jones, 2000; McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick and Woods, 2007; Price, 2009) and simultaneously sexualized and gendered (Massey, 1994; Moss, 2008) directly affecting individuals and place identities. **How human beings develop their knowledge base is directly connected to the embodied experiences of the places and spaces we navigate through**. Scholars engaged in critical geographies of race claim that the world is entirely racialized. David Delaney, a geographer employing critical race theory asks, "What does it mean for geographers to take this claim of a wholly racialized world seriously?" (Price, 2009). As a black feminist geographer and critical race theorist, I take seriously that racialized places and spaces are at the foundation of how we develop our socio-spatial epistemologies; hence, **these epistemologies are racialized**. The collective white middle class USAmerican way of knowing and relating to space, and all the objects and life-forms that occupy it, are connected to this demographics' physical and social placement within a racialized hierarchy in which they are naturalized as normal, un-raced, universal, and the status quo; **whiteness as the norm is at center stage of USA's production of knowledge, space, and power**. Furthermore, to people of color, who are the victims of racism/white supremacy, race is a filter through which they see the world. Whites do not look at the world through this filter of racial awareness, even though they also comprise a race. This privilege to ignore their race gives whites a societal advantage distinct from any received from the existence of discriminatory racism. [Grillo and Wildman] use the term racism/white supremacy to emphasize the link between the privilege held by whites to ignore their own race and discriminatory racism. (Grillo and Wildman 1995, 565) In this essay, I prefer to use the terms whiteness and white privilege as synonyms for Grillo and Wildman's above explication of 'racism/white supremacy.' For critical race geographers, how do we understand how whiteness functions as an epistemology within the power and production of space? In what ways do racialized geographies of exclusion/inclusion influence nuanced and covert acts of whiteness and white privilege amongst the racial status quo? How do these acts of covert whiteness and white privilege manifest albeit- innocently and subconsciously- within spaces of veganism? **Having lived in a racialized nation in which this demographic's epistemologies and ontologies are primarily in center stage, white USAmericans are collectively unaware of how this center stage does not reflect the reality of those who do not exist in such white privileged spaces of inclusion. Racialized spaces create racialized psychic spaces**. Arnold Farr refers to this as **racialized consciousness**, and it is a term that **is** much more **useful to use within the context of those people who do not fully understand that they are engaging in covert acts of whiteness/white privilege racism, all while they simultaneously engage in AR**/VEG **based social activism**. Defined by African American philosopher Dr. Arnold Farr, racialized consciousness replace[s] racism as the traditional operative term in discourses on race. The concept of racialized consciousness will help us examine the ways in which consciousness is shaped in terms of racist social structures... ‘**Racialized consciousness’ is a term that will help us understand why even the well-intentioned white liberal who has participated in the struggle against racism may perpetuate a form of racism unintentionally** (Farr, 2004). Popular vegan-oriented literature in the USA such as Vegan: The New Ethics of Eating (Marcus, 2001), Being Vegan in a Non-Vegan World (Torres and Torres, 2005), The Vegan Sourcebook (Stepaniak and Messina, 2000), and Becoming Vegan (Davis and Vesanto, 2000), which are considered vegan bibles for the vegan status quo, do not deeply engage in critical analysis of how race (racialization, whiteness, racism, anti-racisms) influence how and why one writes about, teaches, and engages in vegan praxis and ultimately produces vegan spaces to affect cultural change. But what does it mean to be conscious of race when embarking on writing projects such as vegan-oriented research? This is part of a larger conversation on how racialization, race, and whiteness functions/manifest within vegan spaces in white dominated nations. **[L]ike the peace and environmental movements, the AR movement is predominantly white and middle class.** Andrew Rowan, a VP at the Humane Society of the U.S., said surveys indicate **the AR movement is "less than three percent" people of color**. In April, 316 people from over 20 states attended the first Grassroots AR Conference in NYC, but the people of color caucus numbered only eight. **If no one is racist, why is the movement largely segregated?** (Hamanaka, 2005) Similarly to second wave USA feminism that falsely universalized the white middle class heterosexual female experience as how all females experience social space, power, and struggle, mainstream vegan rhetoric assumes the same. While veganism itself does create oppositional spaces of consumption that challenge the standard spaces of American carnicentric diet, this essay will explore how mainstream vegan praxis simultaneously creates socio-spatial epistemologies of whiteness that remain invisible to most white identified people. Interestingly, it can be argued that **the white racial demographic in the USA are collectively unaware of racism** and white domination **as an ongoing covert, institutional, and systemic process** (Tuana and Sullivan, 2007; Yancy, 2004). Furthermore, **this ignorance** commonly manifests as a "post-racial" or "raceless" approach to dealing with the world. It **can manifest into believing that** an event about **animal rights**, with 308 white people and 8 people of color, **has nothing to do with USA’s history** (and current state) **of institutionalized and environmental racism, as well as whiteness as the norm**. In a "post-racial" or "raceless" society, it is believed that racism no longer exists because skin tone no longer determines equality. Throughout this text, "raceless," and "post-racial" will be written in quotations to reflect that such terms are coded language for "expected whiteness" (Kang, 2000) and "raceless" equaling "default whiteness" (Nakamura, 2002). The consequences of an individual’s "post-racial" approach, in AR/VEG , ignore the socio-historical context of skin color and the accouterments of white privilege that affect access to, and production of, local and global resources; this includes the resources for vegan products purchased by AR/VEG people in the USA. **Even within the most radical activism, such as** anti-Globalization, **animal rights**, food activism through farmer’s markets, veganism, and anti-Prison Industrial Complex movements, **this collective unawareness to white socio-spatial epistemologies proliferates and is replicated as a form of ignorance** (Appel, 2003; Clark, 2004; Nagra, 2003; Poldervaart, 2001; Slocum, 2006; Yancy, 2004). The epistemology of ignorance is an examination of the complex phenomena of ignorance, which has as its aim identifying different forms of ignorance, examining how they are produced and sustained, and what role they play in knowledge practices....At times [epistemologies of ignorance] takes the form of those in the center refusing to allow the marginalized to know: witness the 19th century prohibition against black slaves' literacy. Other times it can take the form of the center's own ignorance of injustice, cruelty, and suffering, such as contemporary white people's obliviousness to racism and white domination (Sullivan and Tuana, 2007). However, it is important to note that not all people of color in the USA acknowledge the consequences or even the existence of racialized or ethnocentric epistemologies of ignorance. However, Dr. Charles Mills, author of The Racial Contract, theorizes that most black identified people in the USA, are fully aware that their consciousness is "raced" and that the epistemological norm in the USA is derived from whiteness (Mills, 2007). This is what intrigues me about white ignorance: due to embodied experiences of white racialization and socialization, which strategically orients this demographic towards collective ignorance about race, a majority of white identified people in the USA deny that their epistemologies and sense of ethics are "raced" (Sullivan and Tuana, 2007). Dr. Mills has described this epistemological norm as a type of white ignorance a form of ignorance, what could be called white ignorance, linked to white supremacy. The idea of group-based cognitive handicap is not an alien one to the radical traditional, if not normally couched in terms of "ignorance." Indeed, it is, on the contrary, a straightforward corollary of standpoint theory: if one group is privileged, after all, it must be by comparison with another group that is handicapped. In addition, the term has for me the virtue of signaling my theoretical sympathies with what I know will seem to many a deplorably old-fashioned, "conservative," realist, intellectual framework, one in which truth, falsity, facts, reality, and so forth are not enclosed with ironic scare quotes. The phrase "white ignorance" implies the possibility of a contrasting "knowledge" (Mills, 2007). How does such ignorance manifest into vegan praxis? I will explore this in the next section. Race and Ethnicity in Vegan and Animal Rights Analysis...is it really a "feeble" matter? From: Clara ==== Date: November 8, 2007 7:58:54 AM PST To: sistahvegan98@mac.com Subject: from one vegan to another... hello, my name is Clara. i am a freshman in high school and while researching animal cruelty, i came across your website about your book. i am very excited about the fact that you wish to reach out to the african american female vegan femi[ni]sts, but i was taken aback when i realized how MUCH you related race and ethnicity to everything. I would just like to say that i honestly don't believe that the race of a vegan should have anything to do with the cause of saving animals and making others aware of animal cruelty. You put out a lot of topics that make me feel as if at one point in your life, you were not proud to be an african american female AND a vegan because of the depictions of most vegans and that is rather disappointing because race, to me, is such a feeble matter and there are more things important in life than just recognizing race and constantly putting out that racial matters are more important than what you believe in seems ignorant to me. well, thank you for your time: clara :) The above message was delivered to my email inbox in early November 2007. As a cultural geographer, scholar, and activist involved in analyzing how race, class, racism, whiteness and geopolitical location shape one’s philosophy of AR/VEG, this email fascinated me. This young woman was writing about my website, www.breezeharper.com and my anthology of black female vegans, Sistah Vegan. One does not have to search too far in the past year or two, within the U.S.A., to see that race is no "feeble matter": The Jena 6, Don Imus’ "nappy-headed hos" comment about the Rutgers University Women’s Basketball team, and Megan William’s torturers who had called her a "nigger" every time they would stab her (Tone, 2007), are several examples of racially based verbal and/or physical violence. **Though race is a social construction, there have been obvious consequences of this construction, most notably white privilege, white ignorance, and white racism that negatively affect all facets of life in the USA and globally** (Bell, 1992; Bell, 2005; Sullivan and Tuana, 2007; Wing, 2003). Not exempt from these consequences is the geopolitically racialized consumption and production of vegan products (this includes food as well as knowledge as a product) for the vegan and animal rights consumer in the USA. Clara’s email suggests that she is unaware of how a geopolitically racialized labor force and consumption system makes it possible for AR/VEG people in the USA to have access to vegan products. The phrase geopolitically racialized is a phrase I created for this paper. It is a fusion of critical geopolitical theory and the word racialized or raced. Critical geopolitical theory takes a "critical perspective on the force of fusions of geographical knowledge and systems of power" (Dalby and Tuathail, 1996). To this fusion, I also add systems of production and systems of consumption of not only knowledge, but material resources, such as food, clothing, and spices. Racialized/raced added to ‘geopolitical’ or ‘geopolitically,' simply means that human producers and consumers within this system of power, exist in "raced" bodies that are socially and geographically located in a globalized capitalist economic system. Such "raced" placement contributes to their relationships to, and understanding of, knowledge and materials production, power, and ignorance. Dr. Radhika Mohanram, scholar in women’s studies, English, and geopolitics of racial identity, notes that "[it] is a commonplace to point out that the concept of race has always been articulated according to the geographical distributions of people. Racial difference is also spatial difference, the inequitable power relationships between various spaces and place are rearticulated as the inequitable power relations between races" (Mohanram, 1999). For example, **an indentured black Haitian sugar cane worker in the Dominican Republic will have a different relationship and perception of sugar, than a "free" white USAmerican vegan that is consuming a vegan product with sugar harvested by the enslaved Dominican**. Furthermore, **one’s sense of "ethical consumption" is contingent upon geopolitical social and physical position** (Barnett et al., 2005). Vegan chocolate, sugar, and cotton (a vegan alternative to wool and silk) products are examples of how globalized racism sustains geopolitically racialized hierarchies of food and animal-free textile production (Harper, 2010). I will explicate the above further, to those who may not fully understand why they should be concerned with the impact unacknowledged geopolitically racialized consciousness has on their animal rights epistemologies and engagement of those epistemologies through vegan consumerism and consumption. There are people outside of the USA that harvest chocolate under the worse conditions, simply for the production of chocolate treats, including chocolate ingredients found in certain vegan foods and beverages. There are thousands of people on cocoa farms who work as slaves to harvest USA’s chocolate. The Ivory Coast exports fifty percent of the cocoa beans that are used in global chocolate production (Hawksley, 2001). There is a surprising association between chocolate and child labor in the Cote d'Ivoire...from which chocolate is made, under inhumane conditions and extreme abuse. This West African country is the leading exporter of cocoa beans to the world market. Thus, the existence of slave labor is relevant to the entire international economic community. Through trade relations, many actors are inevitably implicated in this problem, whether it is the Ivorian government, the farmers, the American or European chocolate manufacturers, or consumers who unknowingly buy chocolate [emphasis added] (Chanthavong, 2002). Furthermore, as of 2001, thousands of children from the country of Mali have been declared "missing". Authorities believe that "at least 15,000 children are thought to be over in the neighbouring Ivory Coast, producing cocoa...Many are imprisoned on farms and beaten if they try to escape. Some are under 11 years old" (Hawksley, 2001). Although many vegans in the USA believe they are practicing "cruelty free" consumption by saving the life of a non-human animal by eating vegan chocolate products, those who purchase non-fair trade cocoa products may be causing cruelty to thousands of human beings. If a product is not marked in a way that indicates it was harvested through fair and sweatshop-free practices, then how can one know that it is human-cruelty free? Who are the non-white racialized populations who are harvesting chocolate, under conditions of cruelty that help certain USA vegans practice modern ethics through vegan chocolate food consumption? Here’s a hint: they are not white socio-economic class privileged people living in the suburbs of the USA. Since the beginning of European colonialism and the European (and now USAmerican) pursuit of "civilizing" and "modernizing" the globe, those who have harvested chocolate, coffee, cane sugar and tea, have been overwhelmingly non-white racialized groups of people (Mintz, 1986; Harper, 2010). This pattern continues into 2010 (Gautier, 2007; Hunt, 2007). In my book, Sistah Vegan, I wrote about the harm produced by USA’s addictions to foodstuffs that are sourced from the global South: In addition, our unmindful consumption of [un]foodstuffs are not only harming and killing our own health in the United States of America; we are supporting the pain, suffering and cultural genocide of those whose land and people we have enslaved and/or exploited for...sucrose, coffee, black tea, and chocolate too. Unless your addictive substances read "Fair Trade" and "Certified Organic" on it, it is most likely supporting a company that pays people less than they can live off of while they work on plantations that use toxic pesticides and or prohibit the right to organize for their own human rights...Is your addiction causing suffering and exploitation thousands of miles a way on a sugar cane plantation, near a town that suffers from high rates of poverty and undernourishment, simply because that land grows our "dope" instead of local grains and produce for them? We have confused our addictive consumption habits with being "civilized" (Jensen, 2006). The British who sipped their sugary teas considered themselves "civilized", despite the torture and slavery it took to get that white sugar into their tea cups (Harper, 2010). I would also like to suggest that **one cannot overlook the critical concept of modernity (a.k.a. being "civilized") when analyzing how white racialized consciousness and white epistemologies of ignorance remain invisible to "post-racial**" vegans and **animal rights proponents in the USA**. Philosophically , **people in AR**/VEG **activism can be best described as being engaged in a form of "ethical consumption." However, within "ethical consumption," there are unspoken political assumptions** associated with the practice. As Tamás Dombos described, in Hungary, where ethical consumption is only beginning to appear, **it is not simply about consuming ethically: it is also about becoming modern** [emphasis added]. **Early campaigners** for... [ethical consumption] **come from West**ern Europe and the United States, or are closely associated with such people, **and a recurring theme** in talk about ethical consumption **is its association with an Occidentalized, imagined West that East**ern Europeans **ought to be emulating**. It seems, then, that some ethical consumption cannot be understood without seeing it as an embrace of a certain kind of modernity associated particularly with the EU (Carrier, 2007). Though Carrier is referring to the EU, I cannot help but see the same philosophies underlying ethical consumption practices of many USA AR/VEG organizations, such as Vegan Outreach, who talk of ending non-human animal cruelty by purchasing Silk chocolate milk or Soy Delicious chocolate ice cream instead of cow dairy products (Vegan Outreach, 2007). I believe that Vegan Outreach has done amazing work in educating human beings about the suffering humans cause to non-human animals. However, my two critiques are that a) animal rights activists pictured on Vegan Outreach’s Guide to Cruelty-Free Eating appear to be all white and b) Vegan Outreach is advocating Silk and Soy Delicious chocolate products for beginner vegans in their guide (Vegan Outreach, 2007); both products’ cocoa sources are not certified human cruelty free. On the Vegetarian Baby & Child website, Turtle Mountain’s Soy Delicious frozen vegan desserts are described as the following: While they’re not a company big enough to purchase fair trade chocolate, Turtle Mountain doesn’t use bone char-refined sugar, and they are certified organic. The company is also a supporter of the Sea Turtle Restoration Project, an organization helping [to] prevent sea turtles’ extinction. What better reason do I need to buy soy ice cream but to help sea turtles? (Veggies123.com) One has to wonder why the Turtle Mountain Company simply does not stop purchasing chocolate all together, if they cannot afford to buy fairly traded chocolate. Furthermore, there is mention that the sugar is vegan, but one also does not know if it was or was not produced through human cruelty practices. It can be assumed that profit is the motivator to continue purchasing cocoa from a non fair trade resource. It can also be assumed that saving sea turtles and using sugar, free from bone char refinement, is what makes this vegan treat "ethical" and "cruelty-free," appealing to many modern day AR/VEG people in the USA. It cannot be overlooked that the "ethics" of geopolitically racialized production of non fair trade cocoa and sugar for Turtle Mountain (and its consumers), is not as equally important as ensuring that the sugar is "bone free" and sea turtles are given the right to self-determination and survival. If it were, I surmise that Turtle Mountain would have received enough complaints from consumers (or boycotts) to start buying fair trade ingredients. In regard to the pamphlet’s images of solely white people engaged in animal rights activism, one also has to wonder why Vegan Outreach did not provide images of racially diverse people distributing flyers or being engaged in animal rights activism. Page two has a white woman with a white baby, sharing food with a turkey (Vegan Outreach, 2007). On page twenty-two, there is a white child holding up an apple who is described as being a "young vegan" (Vegan Outreach, 2007). Page twenty-six has a young white man reading about advocating for animals (Vegan Outreach, 2007). Page twenty-seven has a picture of a white man handing a Vegan Outreach pamphlet to a black man (Vegan Outreach, 2007). On page twenty-eight, there is a young white girl handing out Vegan Outreach brochures (Vegan Outreach, 2007). The combination of images of white people being the animal rights activists coupled with images that advocate vegan products with sugar and chocolate that are unfairly harvested by the labor of non-white racialized people embodies, for me, a contradictory ethos of who practices veganism and how. What is odd to me is that this is the praxis behind "cruelty-free eating" (hence, the name of the Vegan Outreach starter guide). Throughout the entire starter guide, there is not one mention of the avoidance of vegan products not designated as fair trade, sweatshop-free, or free of current day human slavery practices. Therefore, what type of geopolitically racialized "ethics" are being produced and disseminated? In a 2005 interview with Satya Magazine, Sheila Hamanaka and Tracy Basile write: It’s one thing for a white person to pass out vegan flyers. But **attempts by white AR activists to set the agenda for other cultures bears an uncomfortable resemblance to the historical pattern of suppression by dominant nations. Instead of exporting "democracy," AR activists are exporting their cultural concepts of the proper relationship between human and nonhuman** animals (Hamanaka 2005). In the case of the Vegan Outreach guide, is a white racialized, middle-classed neoliberal USA concept of proper vegan products being exported? Is this a consequence of white epistemologies of ignorance, "post-racialness," and modernity? Of practicing AR/VEG activism without fully realizing how all oppressions are interlocking (Harper, 2010; Smith, 2007), and that **it may be just as "cruel" to eat animals as it is to eat food and textiles produced by enslaved humans on a cocoa, sugar, or cotton plantations?**

#### We don't link to anthro – even though ecology is not explicitly discussed in Friere's works – there is an underlying assumption that the world needs to be changed to embrace nature

**Liu '12** ~2012/ David Liu is a Doctor of Philosophy in Education at the University of Canterbury. "Conscientization and the Cultivation of Conscience,"<http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/10092/7129/1/FinalcopyforConscientizationandtheCultivationofConscienceinaPDFformat.pdf~~>  
Jackson is not content with the power of Freire's theory to effect change at an   
AND  
to love rivers, mountains, trees and fish (Freire, 2004).

### AT: Cap

#### CONSCIENTIZATION IS THE METHOD TO UNDERSTAND CLASS STRUGGLES

**KNOPP AND BALE '12** 4/17/12 Sarah Knopp is a public high school teacher with many reviewed published articles in United Teachers, Jeff Bale is Department of Teacher Education at Michigan State University, "Education and Capitalism: Struggles for Learning and Liberation",

These **interrelated concepts are components of praxis and conscientization**. Freire defines **Conscientization [is]** as "**a way of reading how society works**. **lt is the way to understand better the problem of interests, the question of power . . . a deeper reading of reality**." **This is consistent with two central and fairly well-known ideas of Marxism-first, that philosophy exists in order to change the world, not merely to understand or be aware of it."** **and second, that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle."** **Conscientization implies recognizing both limit-situations and untested Feasibilities and engaging in limit-acts**. That is, **conscientization is not merely becoming conscious** of the world, what Freire called emergence, **but choosing to act**-what Freire termed intervention." **Liberation**. therefore, is a real, material act in the world and is not limited to "Freeing your mind." It **can only be achieved by challenging ruling ideology and engaging in real, on-the-ground class struggle**. Pmxis is a word that captures the unity of rec- ognizing limit-situations and acting to change them. Freire defines **praxis** as "the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it."" lt **is the Marxist idea of the relationship between theory and practice**. Wliile we can only present these ideas in a linear. written fashion. Freire's theory is deeply dialectical and should not be understood as a series of stages through which a learner moves (see figure 6.2 below). Freire states, "Let me emphasize that my defense of the praxis implies no dichotomy by which this praxis could be divided into a prior stage ofreï¬‚ection and a sub- sequent stage of action. Action and reï¬‚ection occur simultaneouslv."'3 . SK

#### Turn – Conscientization controls the internal link into deconstructing capitalism – we need a critical consciousness in relation to the forces of capitalism and the way they influence us

**West 88,** [WEST Honorary chair of the Democratic Socialist of America 1988Cornell-prof @Princeton University, DSA National Politicall Committee and a member of its African American Commission; "Toward a Socialist Theory of Racism";  RACE and ETHNICITY ESERV;  <http://race.eserver.org/toward-a-theory-of-racism.html> (year of publication found on Dr. West's website:  <http://www.pragmatism.org/library/west/)> Socialism and Antiracism: Two Inseparable Yet Not Identical Goals. SK]  
**It should be apparent that racist practices directed against black, brown, yellow, and red people are an integral element of U. S. history**, including present day American culture and society. **This means** not simply **that** Americans have inherited racist attitudes and prejudices, but, more importantly, that **institutional forms of racism are embedded in American society in both visible and invisible ways**. **These** institutional forms exist not only in remnants of de jure job, housing, and educational discrimination and political gerrymandering. They also **manifest themselves in a de facto labor market segmentation**, **produced by the exclusion of large numbers of peoples of color from the socioeconomic mainstream.** (This exclusion results from limited educational opportunities, devastated families, a disproportionate presence in the prison population, and widespread police brutality. ) It also should be evident that **past Marxist conceptions of racism have often prevented U. S. socialist movements** **from engaging in antiracist activity in a serious and consistent manner**. In addition, black suspicion of white-dominated political movements (no matter how progressive) as well as the distance between these movements and the daily experiences of peoples of color have made it even more difficult to fight racism effectively. Furthermore, the disproportionate white middle-class composition of contemporary democratic socialist organizations creates cultural barriers to the participation by peoples of color. Yet this very participation is a vital precondition for greater white sensitivity to antiracist struggle and to white acknowledgment of just how crucial antiracist struggle is to the U. S. socialist movement. Progressive organizations often find themselves going around in a vicious circle. Even when they have a great interest in antiracist struggle, they are unable to attract a critical mass of people of color because of their current predominately white racial and cultural composition. These organizations are then stereotyped as lily white, and significant numbers of people of color refuse to join. **The only effective way the contemporary democratic socialist movement can break out of this circle** (and it is possible because the bulk of democratic socialists are among the least racist of Americans) **is to be sensitized to the critical importance of antiracist struggles**. **This conscientization can**not **take** **place** either by reinforcing agonized white consciences by means of guilt, nor by presenting another grand theoretical analysis with no practical implications. The former breeds psychological paralysis among white progressives, which is unproductive for all of us; the latter yields important discussions but often at the expense of concrete political engagement. Rather what is needed is **[through] more widespread participation by predominantly white democratic socialist organizations in antiracist struggles**--whether those struggles be for the political, economic, and cultural empowerment of Latinos, blacks, Asians, and Native Americans or antiimperialist struggles against U.S. support for oppressive regimes in South Africa, Chile, the Philippines, and the occupied West Bank. SK

#### Perm do both – if their claim is correct a complete, holistic struggle against capitalism is key then their approach must be intersectional – only combining struggles allows for effective movements and antiracist alternatives to capitalism

**West 88,** [WEST Honorary chair of the Democratic Socialist of America 1988Cornell-prof @Princeton University, DSA National Politicall Committee and a member of its African American Commission; "Toward a Socialist Theory of Racism";  RACE and ETHNICITY ESERV;  <http://race.eserver.org/toward-a-theory-of-racism.html> (year of publication found on Dr. West's website:  <http://www.pragmatism.org/library/west/)> Socialism and Antiracism: Two Inseparable Yet Not Identical Goals. SK]

A major focus on **antiracist coalition work will not only lead democratic socialists to act upon their belief in genuine individuality and radical democracy for people around the world; it also will put socialists in daily contact with peoples of color in common struggle**. Bonds of trust can be created only within concrete contexts of struggle. This interracial interaction guarantees neither love nor friendship. Yet it can yield more understanding and the realization of two overlapping goals-- democratic socialism and antiracism. While engaging in antiracist struggles, democratic socialists can also enter into a dialogue on the power relationships and misconceptions that often emerge in multiracial movements for social justice in a racist society. Honest and trusting coalition work can help socialists unlearn Eurocentrism in a self-critical manner and can also demystify the motivations of white progressives in the movement for social justice. We must frankly acknowledge that **a democratic socialist society will not necessarily eradicate racism**. Yet a democratic socialist society is the best hope for alleviating and minimizing racism, particularly institutional forms of racism. **This** conclusion depends on a candid evaluation that guards against utopian self-deception. But it also **acknowledges the deep moral commitment on the part of democratic socialists of all races** to the dignity of all individuals and peoples--**a commitment that impels us to fight for** a more libertarian and egalitarian **society**. Therefore **concrete antiracist struggle is both an ethical imperative and political necessity for democratic socialists**. It is even more urgent as once again racist policies and Third World intervention become more acceptable to many Americans. A more effective democratic socialist movement engaged in antiracist and antiimperialist struggle can help turn the tide. It depends on how well we understand the past and present, how courageously we act, and how true we remain to our democratic socialist ideals of freedom, equality, and democracy.SK

### AT: Wilderson

#### Wilderson’s alternative reifies colonialism and destroys the possibility for coalitions – this means that the 1AC is preferable. A is that doing coalitions does not restrict the possibility for solving for black oppression – at the very best if coalitions fail for blacks then they can do Wilderson’s alt B is that doing the 1NC destroys the possibility of coalitions which means that any reason as to why the 1AC strategy is good is a reason to vote for it.

Massa ’14,

**Imagining the end of the world is the only way that the Slave can truly become free form the Human race.** **This is the** **knowledge production that Wilderson advocates** to bring about the “gratuitous freedom” that is needed to reconceptualize Black ontology. However, **there are two negative impacts to this form of thinking**. **The first is that Wilderson’s call to imagine the end of the world is a form of colonialist knowledge production because it universalizes the experiences of the individual black people by forcing them to embrace the negativity surrounding their own ontological position in the world, reducing them to** what Spivak calls **the subaltern**. **The second is that Wilderson’s thought production destroys the potential for emancipatory political reform as his negativity creates a form of political apathy in which the Black Body loses all motivation to challenge the laws that perpetuate racism while creating a culture of self-hatred for one’s identity that destroys the possibility of forming coalitions** that Bell hooks believes necessary to break down racism.SK

### AT: Curry

#### Curry is not applicable to Asian Americans and is probably wrong – a different perspective can transform the system within itself without rejecting its endorsement.

Chang,

**True, recognition of** these **different moral orientations will have a profound effect on many institutions, especially in law, a rule-based system formulated largely without the active participation or real consideration of women.** **Could a similar sort of claim Be made racial minorities-that law, formulated largely without the active participation or real consideration of racial minorities, is therefore flawed, incomplete, or inadequate to address fully the needs of racial minorities**? Do racial minorities Z i in a "different voice" that must now be considered? **A prominent African American law professor at Harvard denounced this notion ofa different minority voice and criticized a number of scholars of color who had written about minority exclusion from mainstream legal dis- course and institutions**. Some of them employed narrative methodology,' sparking widespread debate without any real resolution.' Recently, the flames of this debate were fanned by Daniel Farber and Suzanna Sherry. who make basically the same charge and criticize the use of narrative by feminist legal and critical race scholars because these scholars have not yet proved by -o---Â»' Â»a empirical evidence the exnnence of a different voice. They argue that although some evidence exists that men and women possess different per- spectives on the law. the weight of the evidence does not support either of the strong versions of the different voice thesis: i) that the voices of men and women are so different that the former normally an neither understand nor evaluate the work of the latter, or ii) that women are in a unique position to transform legal scholarship.' \ They further assert that no evidence of a voice of color has been presented and that "[m]ost critical race theorists simply postulate the of a diï¬‚erence, often citing feminist scholarship lfil support. and thus implicitly equating a male voice with a white voicc."'Â° However, as Richard Delgado notes. the critics misunderstand that "[v]oice is a false issue."" I would go further and say that **by focusing on the existence of a different voice,** Farber and Sherry have **[individuals] create**d **the equivalent of an essentialist trap.** A direct refutation of their argument, by positing the existence of a different voice for women and people of color, would be sub- ject to charges of essentialism, which many feminists and critical race schol- ars reject." Moreover, Farber and Sherry fail to take into account that femi- nist theory has. fin the most part, moved beyond the idea of a diï¬‚erent voice arising out of some unitary female experience that binds all women. Instead, **feminist theory has recogniud for some time now that identities are contradictory, multiple, partial, and strategic, giving rise to a multiplic- ity of voices**." **It is time** now **for critical race theory to do the same, to move beyond the false issue of voice and its accompanying question of authentic- ity, because the use of narrative need not depend on the notion that people of color speak in a different voice.** SK

### AT: Blackness First

#### You say blackness first, but you do not consider the historical ways in which African Americans have brutalized Asian Americans – check back your feeling of “oppressive privilege” and understand that we must work together to end conflicts – just saying that your oppression is better legitimizes violence against Asian Americans because we do not want to speak out.

Dawson ’14, [“Why black-Asian tensions persist”, 2014-01-10 12:58, Kelly Chung Dawson (China Daily USA). SK]

**In 2010, a string of highly publicized crimes perpetrated by African-American teenagers against elderly Asian-American men and women in Berkeley, California, and Brooklyn, New York, spurred fresh discussion of the conflict**. That spring **an 83-year-old Chinese man was beaten to death by five black teenagers; a 59-year-old Chinese woman sustained injuries when she was pushed off a subway platform; and a 59-year-old Chinese man died after being assaulted by two teenagers**. Although the wife of that man, Tiansheng Yu, pleaded with the Chinese community to avoid viewing the crimes as racial, a protest at San Francisco's City Hall saw executive director of the Asian Pacific American Community Center Tammy Tan pin the incidents on ethnicity. "**We don't want to escalate with African Americans, so we don't say it,"** Tan **[Asian Americans] said** in a speech at the rally. "**But it is racial. That's fact**." Shortly afterward, New America Media posted an essay by Amanze **Eminike**, **[was] an African American who had as a younger man been taught to target Asians** and Latinos for small robberies. He argued that **the rationale was [that] rooted in a reluctance to rob other black people, for fear of reprisals**. **Asian victims were less likely to retaliate** and more often carried items of value, he said. Eminike's account should be interpreted as only one person's experience but is also perhaps indicative of a focus on economic status rather than race, said Jenn Fang, an Asian-American advocate who runs the blog Reappropriate.co. The two descriptors have frequently been viewed as interchangeable in both communities, with long-standing prejudices fueling a stand-still in relations that have remained mostly unchanged since the 1992 riots, she said. SK

#### South Asians are the intersection of both African American and Asian American violence – not only are we seen as “black” and our identity is misunderstood, any achievement we have is attributed to the model minority myth. Here is the story of Mr. Patel.

Khan ’15,

When 57-year-old **Sureshbhai Patel** **was slammed facedown to the ground by an Alabama police officer** in February, **leaving him partially paralyzed**, the Hindu American Foundation moved quickly to announce that it was developing a Hinduism 101 training for first responders “to improve the cultural competency of police officers and avoid the escalation of incidents based on language and cultural barriers.” While a completely understandable reaction, on its own, it is also a narrow and shortsighted one. What many South Asian Americans do not understand is that **the violence perpetrated against them and other nonblack people of color is directly linked to the culture of bias and racism in the U.S. against African Americans**. **Police** only **approached Patel because they had received a call that a “skinny black guy” had been seen wandering the neighborhood.** **Squad-car footage from the scene suggests that the police officer**, who was indicted Friday, knew that Patel was Indian by the time he attacked him. But the fact that he **was primed to see Patel as black before approaching him** **[which] meant that the officer entered the situation much more likely to use excessive or even lethal force.** No amount of cultural training about South Asians can eliminate that bias. **South Asians** in the U.S. **are** often **held up as part of the wider myth about Asian Americans being a “model minority”** in comparison with African Americans. **Conservatives and liberals alike perpetuate this myth**, essentially pitting Asian minorities against African Americans. As Spelman College professor Jamillah Karim points out, by accepting the label of “model minority,” South Asians inadvertently “bolster fictions about African-American incompetence and laziness.” Trying to distinguish themselves from African Americans is understandable, as historian Vijay Prashad explains: “Since blackness is reviled in the United States, why would an immigrant, of whatever skin color, want to associate with those who are racially oppressed ... ?” SK

#### I am not going to engage in these oppression Olympics but I will say this – Asian American silencing outweighs your arguments because speaking is a prerequisite to voicing concerns about oppression. This is a question of accessibility rather than merely oppression. I outweigh on root cause and strength of link to the debate space.

Yu,

There was an interesting post over at Angry Asian Man about violence committed against Asian American students in Philadelphia. While anti-Asian racism is American as apple pie, the interesting thing was that the perpetrators involved in these racist attacks were predominantly African Americans…. As documented by the Philadelphia Weekly, **Asian American students at several Philadelphia high schools have been subject to not only “name-calling, verbal threats, petty robberies, random punches in the head while walking down stairwells, and general intimidation” but also “massive rumbles where outnumbered Asian students were pummeled by packs of teens, sending several of the victims to hospitals.”** The article further notes, Male and female Asian students—especially those new to the country, who speak little or fractured English—have been targeted over the past few years, in schools from the Northeast to South Philly, in elementary and high schools. **Students and activists say that Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Pakistani and other Asian youth have been singled out, assaulted in cafeterias, hallways, on city streets, school buses and everywhere in between.** **Indeed, the “culture of violence against Asian immigrants has existed for so long at some public schools that students almost accept that random beat downs are a part of life**.” As one student named Wei Chen put it, “They don’t even know you…. They just hit because you’re Asian.” These Philadelphia schools and district administrators effectively practiced a policy of benign neglect that compelled Asian American students to launch petitions, write letters, hold meetings, and even stage walk-outs in protest. As a result, school officials eventually began to address this violence by staging meetings with students and parents alike, increasing school security, and launching initiatives like something called the “International Welcome Squad.” **What was also notable about these anti-Asian assaults is how the Philadelphia establishment has been somewhat, shall we say, hesitant to call out the fact that the attackers are predominantly African American**. The Philadelphia Weekly article itself addresses this issue in a backhanded way: “While the victims and the school district are reluctant to lay the attacks at the feet of African-American students, the fact is that black students make up 62 percent of the total population. They tend to be the alleged perpetrators.” The article goes on to assert that this anti-Asian sentiment is driven by general battles for turf and dominance. Sociologist Elijah Anderson is thus quoted as explaining: The outsiders—the Asians who are making inroads—can then be called into account for any moves they make within that situation. You have race prejudice developing as a sense of group position, a proprietary claim on certain areas of the home turf…. It’s a human thing…. It could be Asians who get jumped. It could be blacks. It could be white, Italian, Jewish, whatever, if you know what I mean. This is not unique to blacks and Asians. These **attacks** may be an abstract human thing, but they also **involve specific forms of anti-Asian racism and violence**. If the situation had been reversed and the attackers were mostly Asian American students and the victims were African Americans, would there be such a tendency to minimize the issue of racism? That’s doubtful. **One probable factor in cases like this one is Oppression Olympics.** In general, **Oppression Olympics creates a hierarchy of oppression in which, for instance, the racism suffered by one group is considered insignificant to that of another group that has greater perceived claim to historical suffering**. Not surprisingly, self-styled Progressives of many stripes are particularly guilty of playing this game of Oppression Olympics. **Since African Americans have been historically oppressed by America, there is a hesitancy to fully address acts of racism or prejudice committed by African Americans against other minority groups–unless they can somehow be fit into mainstream American complaints about supposed “reverse racism.”** One stark example is the anti-immigrant vitriol espoused by some African Americans. Ultimately, America is about power–not justice. **Since African Americans have more political representation and power than Asian Americans, they will have greater ability to define the meaning of these events according to their interests than Asian Americans**–not unlike how White America routinely does on a much greater institutional scale. In general, inter-minority conflict in America is something that often gets swept under the rug. America’s current racial/ethnic paradigm is still largely dominated by Blacks and Whites, with their perspectives and issues marginalizing that of other groups. Indeed, some academics have insisted that **America’s racial system is evolving towards a supposed “Black/Non-Black Divide” in which Asian Americans and Latinos will be assimilated into White America in opposition to Black America**. In other words, you have only two choices of identification. You are either Black or White. Or as George W. Bush would say, you are either with us or against us, This kind of Black-White political straightjacket, however, will increasingly be untenable in twenty-first century America, as other minority groups grow in numbers and presence–and seek to develop their own independent politics.

# Expansions

## XP - Barsky ’08

#### Poetry outweighs because it is a form of creative engagement – also outweighs under the ROB – the judge has the inherent obligation to endorse these forms of creative engagement, especially poetry, so my method always outweighs

#### The judge must resist restrictions on our creative engagement that appeal to “security” and the rigid conceptions which prevent us from making ­*real change* – this means that the poetry performance of the 1AC outweighs all of your theoretical indicts to the 1AC

Barsky 2008 (Robert F., professor of English, French, and comparative literature at Vanderbilt University, “Safe Spaces in an Era of Gated Communities and Disproportionate Punishments,” http://www.mlajournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1632/prof.2008.2008.1.40)

I was going to propose a moratorium on the consequences of taking intellectual risks within and beyond the academy but deem it insufficient for the present task. In its place, I advocate a wanton disregard for arbitrary authority and an active promotion of lust and poetry; the purposeful secretion of fantasy; and the creation more than the critique of art, even in our classrooms. I have spent most of my career bringing the tools from the humanities to bear on crucial social problems relating to Geneva Convention refugees (Constructing and Arguing), homeless people (“Stories”), and incarcerated migrants (“Activist Translation” and “From Discretion”). Nevertheless, I now firmly believe that we don’t need to involve our students more directly in political debates as delineated in, say, the New York Times, because most of these so-called differences of opinion force us to take a stand on issues too obvious or superficial to really matter. We all have a view about an idea as bizarre as building a wall between the United States and Mexico in an era of much-vaunted free trade, but all the approaches to free trade take for granted our need to control the borders. This need leads otherwise perfectly reasonable human beings to promote freer movement of commodities as set forth by NAFTA, though they are incapable of imagining the fundamental first move of free trade, the elimination of the border between Mexico and the United States and between the United States and Canada, and though the European Union has done so between worlds that were once as divergent as the United Kingdom and Germany. We have also been forced to consider the value of torturing human beings in Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo, or down the street from us and have ended up reading Alan Dershowitz debating the fine points of the law as it applies to our citizens versus everybody else, instead of noting the insanity not only of torture but also of warehousing a prison population that exceeds two million people. We all want to live healthy lives whether or not we’re employed but then with a straight face wonder whether universal health care, which works everywhere else in the world, is right for us. These are not debates, because frankly there is no serious intellectual content on either side of these so-called issues. We are being lured into this constructed pseudo-reality of trial balloons, nonchoices, and sensationalism designed to keep us—and our students—from debates worth having and from projects worth spending money on, using a resource like the trillion or so military dollars approved with nary a hesitation not only in Congress but also in our discussions at home, approved in the name of a smoke screen created through government-enforced fear mongering (on this point, see Melman). We need to change the terms of the discussion by bringing the glorious tools of creativity to bear on the fertile gardens of the mind, for it is time for the uncontrolled and unexpected. Theodore Ziolkowski has written in a book on literature and law, “Justice gazes most often into her literary mirror when she has been disheveled by the winds of social and political upheaval, . . . when law finds itself out of phase with the prevailing community passions” (63), and, “It is at those moments when the tension between law and morality is increased to the breaking point that law is changed and its evolution lurches forward again” (16). This probably is a good time for justice to gaze into the literary mirror. Even more important, we must name the upheaval, note the disheveled, mark the tension, and observe the breaking point; we must provide the grounds for upheaval’s creation. So this is not a time for the complacency or self-satisfaction implied when the highbrow is invoked as a first gesture or when we take as our task the imposition of preordained, overriding, and all-knowing models of thought on our students and their work. Even Tzvetan Todorov is now bemoaning the efforts he and others put into structuralism, realizing that it has had the effect of destroying through a weak pseudo-science any pleasure people have in reading literature. So we need to go back to the pleasures of reading and the risks of creating, inside and beyond the classroom. These efforts will have to be conceived differently, because in the past, even relative to the Vietnam era or the cold war, we allowed policies that 42 ||| saFe sPaces in an eRa oF Gated communities S N 42 have raised the stakes of engagement and creative action to a level that is for most people unaffordable if not unfathomable. As teachers, then, we can look back to those who made a difference to find some inspiration and evidence for the power of daring: Marquis de Sade, Emile Zola, Antonin Artaud, Henry Miller, Allen Ginsberg, Antonio Gramsci—examples of those whose public vilification was, to use the words of the prosecutor in the Gramsci trial, a conscious effort to stop the brain from functioning for twenty years (88). And we have the great contemporary model of Noam Chomsky, who was once asked, “You’ve been called a neo-Nazi, your books have been burned, you’ve been called anti-Israeli—don’t you get a bit upset by the ways your views are always distorted by the media and by intellectuals?” His characteristically humorous but somewhat sardonic reply? No, why should I? I get called anything, I’m accused of everything you can dream of: being a Communist propagandist, a Nazi propagandist, a pawn of freedom of speech, an anti-Semite, a liar, whatever you want. Actually, I think that’s all a good sign. I mean, if you’re a dissident, you’re typically ignored. If you can’t be ignored, and you can’t be answered, you’re vilified—that’s obvious: no institution is going to help people undermine it. So I would only regard the kinds of things you’re talking about as signs of progress. (qtd. in Barsky, Chomsky Effect 52) But maybe Chomsky’s answer is from another era, another sign that we are in a different kind of crisis today, just as his pride in having been arrested for civil disobedience is a badge of honor that can no longer be worn in the way he did. I was going to propose a moratorium on consequences, but the fact is, they are already here, and they’re more nefarious than those Chomsky endured, because they’re more insidious. Being labeled a négationniste, a Nazi, or an anti-Semite could be the kiss of death for our work, as “spook” was to Coleman Silk in Philip Roth’s The Human Stain (6). And the jail time that many of us fondly invoke to prove our engagement can’t be reasonably advocated to our students at a time when a criminal record can, in one fell swoop, obliterate their chances for travel outside the country, for certain kinds of employment, or for credit when they are starting their professional lives in massive student loan debt. The examples of how this works are astonishing: if one of our students chooses to participate in an illegal demonstration and gets arrested, charged, and sentenced, she may never have a chance to question any kind of authority again, ever. If while in prison doing time for the great crime of speaking out for what she believes in, she mistakenly makes a call to a cell phone, against the rules in RobeRt F. baRsky ||| 43 S N 43 prisons, the penalty can be two years of lockdown, two years at twentythree hours a day in an 8'x10' cell where she both shits and sleeps. So yes, it has been possible in recent years for Stanley Aronowitz, Norman Mailer, Seymour Melman, Noam Chomsky, Edward Said, and many others to use an affiliation to an institution like a university or to use a career like writing to protect them from the consequences of overt social criticism, and it has been okay for people like them to celebrate and recall prison time for their dissidence. But it’s much easier to advocate this course when the penalty is not lasting. So how do we change the world, alter attitudes, fight for decency, get the humanities to work in the world? After a talk I recently gave about public intellectuals, one audience member suggested that convincing right-wing hawks that a course of violent action is wrong is impossible, for biological and chemical reasons. The only way we can challenge notions, he suggested, is through dramatic action, like an experiment with hallucinogenic drugs or a creative amorous exchange, both types having been practiced by our much loved and canonized poets and writers. But a productively turned-on Voltarine de Cleyre or Mary Shelley or Lord Byron or Allen Ginsberg could not function in the current security-minded setting: if they were alive today, these canonical authors could not travel, could not publish, and would likely have zero access to a public beyond the prison cell. They probably wouldn’t even be brought to a much-publicized trial that could promote their actions or spread their ideas, as happened in previous generations, to people like Timothy Leary and Jerry Rubin. And using our critical powers to deconstruct the documents that those in authority have commissioned is ineffectual in an era when anything short of unrestrained action is deemed sissy, the hopeless “I told you so” of a lost cause. Let us at least do what we in the humanities can do: delimit some safe havens for the planting of new ideas and the provoking of real ideals, within and therefore beyond the humanities. We can start by instilling in our students and ourselves the belief that the “future could fundamentally surpass the present,” to cite Russell Jacoby in The End of Utopia, that “the future texture of life, work and even love might little resemble that now familiar to us,” “that history contains possibilities of freedom and pleasure hardly tapped” (xi–xii). We as teachers and students need to know how to be free and in that freedom stimulate the unexpected, which means that we need to rethink rigid requirements and the idea of business as usual in the discipline—the word discipline is particularly apt in this context— and instead look to more promising experiments, like studying questions and catalyzing approaches to them in whatever genre or style one might 44 ||| saFe sPaces in an eRa oF Gated communities S N 44 think up. Such experiments can be practiced in our classrooms if we offer our students the possibility of addressing, say, literary questions creatively rather than programmatically. Practice will be needed, though, because students are afraid of doing creative work in classrooms, in part because high schools are usually factories that teach them how to take tests and universities are often considered places that award certificates that facilitate social climbing, which suggests that students need only provide what the professors want to hear, just as the professors need only produce what the tenure committee wants to read. To teach freedom to students, to get them to drop their well-honed guard, to develop in the academy a saner relation to arbitrary, brutally enforced power, we must get over the problem of the outcome from the very beginning: without the concomitant risk of low grades, students might be willing to take the risk of real thought. A moratorium on consequences means teachers and students prancing in joyful embrace in fields of As, the mind-set of punishment for creative resistance no longer reinforcing the fear of real resistance to spending a trillion dollars a year in this fake and endlessly trumped-up obsession with the paper tiger’s den called security. Creating safe spaces for intellectual risk taking in the humanities is a start. If you are living in the United States illegally and are deported, your return will cost you three years. With a record of any kind, you could easily be looking at ten. It doesn’t take much. We aren’t protected from administrative regulations because we happen to be employed in the hallowed halls, particularly if we are immigrants. As a permanent resident, I have ten days to report a change of address; failure to report can lead to deportation proceedings—a tiny example of our newfound lust for governmentsanctioned arbitrariness, brutality, violence, and disproportionate consequences for minor actions. The moratorium I describe here only sets the ground; the earth to nourish the seeds of productive resistance and unexpected creation probably needs the sodomizing, psychedelic, far-fetched, orgasmic, fictional, exploded gesture whose nature I cannot even imagine. I think that to survive this era, we need to look to explosive examples from the past, hence the importance of recalling, rereading, and teaching Sexus, Philosophie dans le boudoir, Lady Chatterly’s Lover, Una vita violente. Even more important, we all need to hear something unexpected, **and it’s our task as teachers**, as catalysts in an era that promotes gated communities inside and outside our minds, **to set out the spaces that will make this work possible**, in the hope that the disease of freedom leaks from our classrooms and oozes its RobeRt F. baRsky ||| 45 S N 45 corrupting influence into our terrified worlds. I hope it’s as contagious as can be.